

WFB on
Newt Gingrich's
Other Contract—p.78

The End of Yeltsin? Quagmire in Chechnya

NATIONAL REVIEW

Jeffrey
Dahmer:
How
Many
More?

#BXNMYG ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ55558Y003# 061295
X4
RON UNZ
NTRV
S00225
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704





© 1994 Toyota Motor Corporate Services of North America, Inc.

Some of our most
SUCCESSFUL
research and
DEVELOPMENT
programs
HAVE NOTHING
to do with cars.

AT TOYOTA, improving the quality of life is as important to us as improving the quality of our vehicles. That's why, for the last 20 years, we've been supporting American community projects that are as diverse and exciting as the people who participate in them. This year alone, we're investing more than \$12 million in worthwhile educational programs run by organizations like the National Science Teachers Association, United Negro College Fund and National Center for Family Literacy. To us, a successful business shouldn't just try to make a profit, it should try to make a difference as well.

INVESTING IN THE THINGS WE ALL CARE ABOUT. **TOYOTA**

For more information about Toyota in America write Toyota Motor Corporate Services, 9 West 57th Street, Suite 4900-C4, New York, NY 10019.

NATIONAL REVIEW

JANUARY 23, 1995 VOL. XLVII, NO. 1

Cover Story

34 *The Face of Evil*

Serial murderers are increasingly common, reports **Eugene H. Methvin**, but researchers are gathering information that will help stop the killing. . . . **Michael Harrington** reflects on the continuing fascination with Jack the Ripper.

Articles

22 *On the Scene*

Irish voters have chosen a solid man as their new prime minister, notes **Conor Cruise O'Brien**, but the "peace process" remains shaky. . . . **Anthony Lejeune** analyzes John Major's troubles. . . . **Brian Doherty** chronicles a family's struggle to build their dream home in Irvine, California.

46 *The Freshmen*

Rich Lowry inspects the shock troops of Newt Gingrich's revolution.

48 *Imbalancing Act*

After looking at the EPA's assessment of a nationwide smoking ban, **Jacob Sullum** warns that cost-benefit analysis could become a cover for regulation as usual. . . . **Ben Lieberman** wonders why no one considered the costs of phasing out CFCs.

52 *Push the Limits*

Republicans had better think twice before opposing term limits, advises **Stephen Moore**.

54 *A 'Normal' Nation?*

The bungled invasion of Chechnya could lead, says **Radek Sikorski**, to the end of Russian imperialism—with considerable luck.

56 *What Wall?*

M. Stanton Evans reveals the historical distortion behind the claim that the establishment clause requires strict separation of government and religion.

Books, Arts & Manners

62 What is the "New Class," anyway? Christopher Lasch confused it with the upper middle class, says **Robert H. Bork**, which is why Lasch's *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* misses the point. . . . **R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.** praises George F. Will, whose *The Leveling Wind* sets him out as a man, sadly, apart. . . . In *The Western Canon*, Harold Bloom nominates himself for Pope of All Reading; **Alexander Theroux** refuses to genuflect. . . . **Andrew Stuttaford** takes a journey *Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe*, with Anne Applebaum. . . . **John Simon** goes mad for *The Madness of King George*, but don't expect him to call the new Beethoven bio-pic his *Immortal Beloved*. . . . Why lie, and when? **James Bowman** considers the morality of fibbing. . . . **Taki** would like to force all ill-dressed grungers into a straight jacket—and a nice tie.

80 *The Gimlet Eye*

Andrew Ferguson has acquired a taste for the intrigues of D.C. policy wonks . . . poor devil.

Sections

2 *Letters*

8 *From the Editor*

10 *For the Record*

12 *The Week*

30 *Random Walk*

32 *help*

61 *Letter from Al*

72 *Books in Brief*

77 *Trans-O-Gram*

78 *On the Right*

Cover photograph by William Meyer, Saba Press Photos, Inc.



NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1995. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday-Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

Who's a Racist?

Minoo Southgate concluded ["Radio in Black and White," Dec. 5] that public pressure caused radio commentator Bob Grant to watch "his own choice of words" while on the air (read: become more politically correct). Along with Grant's detractors, Miss Southgate decided that Mr. Grant was, in fact, a racist, and she cited one out-of-context quote as proof. However, offensiveness does not equate with racism. I have listened to Mr. Grant twice a week for the last seven years and I am very sure of one thing: his comments have always been leveled at *reprehensible conduct regardless of race*.

Apart from Mr. Grant's abrasiveness with most of the telephone callers to his radio program, his primary appeal has been his lack of fear of and refusal to bend to politically correct pressures. He is disliked by the liberal-left, not because of his offensiveness per se, but because he has failed to direct his offensiveness in the politically correct direction.

I don't want to disappoint Miss Southgate, but "black hate radio stations" in New York City never have had and never will have public pressure brought to bear on them for two reasons: their owners and commentators are members of a protected victim minority, and they spew politically correct offensiveness. It doesn't matter, though, because unlike Bob Grant's show the free market mostly tunes them out.

Anthony R. Pagano
Bethlehem, Pa.

I did not "decide" that Mr. Grant is a racist. The Grant quotation, which placed "subhumanoids" and "savages" in Africa, shows why his detractors call him racist. Mr. Grant may truthfully say there is no bigotry in his heart, but talk-show hosts are judged by what is on their lips. When I said Grant was "watching his own choice of words," I did not mean he has become more politically correct. I welcomed the change because I agree with many of his positions and think a less offensive Grant has a better chance of preaching past the

choir. As for black radio, Mr. Pagano will be pleased to learn that WLIB bowed to public pressure and fired Clayton Riley in early December.

—MS

Wild Kingdom

The old Roman legacy suggests a solution to the mountain-lion problem in California ["Cat Fight," by Paul Ciotti, Dec. 19]. The activists insist that an annual levy of human lives is justified to maintain the lions in the style to which they are becoming accustomed. So we should take them at their word and, hereafter, rely on an enlightened policy of feeding animal-rights activists to the lions.

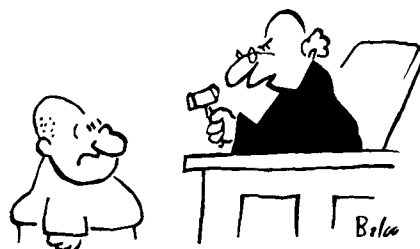
R. R. Dalling
San Diego, Calif.

The most horrible part of the story of Barbara Schoener, the woman killed and eaten by the female mountain lion in the Sierra foothills, is the public reaction to the offspring of victim and killer. The female cougar had two kittens; Mrs. Schoener had two children. The "put animals first" crowd got together, and raised twice the fund for the cougar kittens as was raised by "putting people firsters" for the woman's two children.

John A. Fletcher
St. Paul, Minn.

Reed on the Right

Ralph Reed is right and James Hitchcock is wrong ["Books, Arts & Manners," Dec. 5] on the problem of abortion for two reasons. First, as a matter



"Because of the heinous nature of your crime, I hereby sentence you to life imprisonment without cable."

of conservative principle, Reed is right to turn the issue back to the states and thus reduce the power of the central government over our lives. Second, in practical terms, the states have again and again attempted to limit abortion, only to have the Federal Government, as the Supreme Court did in *Roe v. Wade*, overturn their legislation.

Dennis L. White
Dallas, Tex.

Phonetic Confusions

The First Lady should not be tut-tutted ["The Week," Nov. 21] for confusing Carl Oglesby with a Methodist theologian of phonetically similar name. The gaffe was mine, not hers. But who knows? If Chuck Colson can convert, maybe Carl can too.

Kenneth L. Woodward
Newsweek
New York, N.Y.

Economic Populations

"Population" has left its accustomed snoozer status to become one of the most politicized issues of the waning century. Ed Rubenstein's "Right Data" entitled "Behind Population: Births, Deaths, and Income" [Oct. 24] gives country-by-country figures on population increase but omits immigration. Only the whole-world total, however, is properly described by births and deaths alone. Country totals that omit net immigration or emigration are partial at best, in countries such as the United States, which are popular immigrant destinations, they doubly mislead. This is so not only because immigration to the United States is so massive—about 1.1 million legal and 300,000 illegal immigrants annually and rising—but also because the subsequent fertility of the new-immigrant sector is never broken out as a separate source of births even though it is a major contributor. Omitting immigrant numbers not only falsifies demographic reality but also removes the basis for fully assessing costs.

So, with this omission of a major source of U.S. population growth, what does Mr. Rubenstein report as the 1992-93 population increase in the United States? Using figures on *natural* increase published by the Population Reference Bureau, the table shows 2.58 million persons and a rate of 0.8 per cent as the annual population increase of the United States; the percentage projects a doubling of the population in 87.5 years.

In fact, the U.S. population is increasing by over 3 million persons an-

ACCORDING TO THE WORLD BANK, SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLION WOMEN AND CHILDREN SPEND THEIR DAYS IN DWELLINGS WHERE WOOD AND COW DUNG ARE BURNED FOR ENERGY. The fumes are indoor air pollutants. Breathing them is like smoking three packs of cigarettes per day. The World Health Organization reports 4 million Third World children die each year from acute respiratory disease, no doubt exacerbated by such fumes.

In the United States the air we breathe is healthier because we use electricity as a primary energy source. The way we deliver electricity is a technological triumph and the envy of the world. Our well-being is the direct result of widespread availability of electricity made cheaply because of wide use of coal.

Given our accomplishments, it would be logical for our national leaders to promote the United States as a model for achieving human well-being and development abroad. But because the radical environmental agenda is set on

controlling US energy policy, the reverse is true. In international circles, narrowly focused environmentalists and our own Department of State encourage lesser-developed nations to single-mindedly pursue conservation and distributed renewable generation technologies. At present, these technologies are inefficient and expensive.

Policymakers resist urging Third World electrification using our advanced technologies for large-scale, efficient, and economical central station electric generating units that are fossil-fueled.

The justification for this kind of thinking is the Rio Treaty with its focus on limiting carbon dioxide emissions—and as

signed in 1992 by former President George Bush with the advice and consent of the US Senate. Should the Rio Treaty be turned into the world's energy law? The answer is "no."

Rio is premised on a one hundred year old theory that catastrophic global warming will result from burning fossil fuels because they emit CO₂, a greenhouse gas. This controversial theory has no support in observations. In the intervening century, climate observations suggest the theory should be discarded, not used as a pretext to curtail industrial activity.

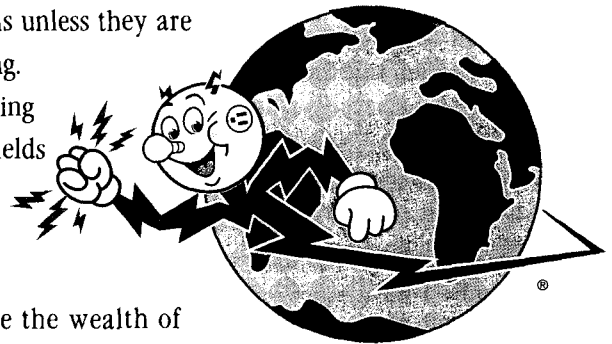
Predictions of future climate conditions generated by general circulation computer models are what the environmental community relies on in defense of *Rio*. But these models are intentionally manipulated so that they predict apocalypse. Existing models cannot replicate actual climate conditions unless they are manipulated. As a result, they fail the first test of computer modelling.

Earth's climate *is* changing—gradually. Winter nights are warming and summer days appear to be cooling, promoting greater crop yields and more robust forests. CO₂ fertilization of the atmosphere helps produce more food for people and wildlife. Wildlife can flourish in more abundant habitat.

Women and children in the Third World are not at risk because the wealth of industrialized nations results in CO₂ emissions. Their lives are at risk because their present way of life pollutes their environment. Electrification provides a cure for pollution. But the Third World can never realize the benefits of electrotechnologies so long as energy policy is shaped by limited environmental understanding.

Extending electric service to villages can have a powerful impact. It would free Third World populations from drudgery, greatly improving their living standards and, therefore, their quality of life. In this way, repealing *Rio* would be positive for humanity. **Let's electrify the world with our technology and know-how.**

Reddy Kilowatt ® is a registered trademark and service mark used by electric utilities worldwide. Reddy appears here with permission of The Reddy Corporation, International, Albuquerque, New Mexico, in the spirit of cooperation and support of electrotechnologies.



©The Reddy Corporation International



nually, and the rate of growth surpasses 1.15 per cent. At a conservatively estimated growth rate of 1.15 per cent annually, the U.S. population is on track to double every 60.8 years.

Who said that "demography" isn't political?

Virginia Abernethy
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

My column dealt with global population growth, so immigration wasn't an issue. Nevertheless, Dr. Abernethy's remarks inadvertently support my own regarding the efficacy of economic growth in curbing population. For nearly thirty years Third World immigrants have come to this country in increasing numbers. The vast majority are from poor countries where birth rates are many times greater than ours. Yet our current rate of natural increase, which by now reflects the reproductive choices made by the new arrivals, is among the lowest in the developed world—even lower than it was thirty years ago. Clearly, these immigrants became Americanized. They got rich, or at least richer than they were before. In the process, children became prized more for their quality than their quantity. —ER

X'ers Don't Slack

Daniel Radosh's review of *Late Bloomers* ["Books, Arts & Manners," Dec. 31] is wonderful. As a member of the so-called Generation X, I am constantly bombarded with articles, editorials, and TV segments that denounce my laziness. In publications ranging from *The Atlantic* to *Business Week*, I see a stereotype of men and women of my age group that assumes us all to be slackers.

I am a college sophomore majoring in political science with plans to go to law school. I have political aspirations, and I spent last summer working at the foreign-exchange desk of a bank. I am not a slacker, nor do I believe that I'm an anomaly. I have many of the cultural tastes that are associated with people my age, and I feel much of the same angst and despair that Generation X feels. However, to me that is not an excuse to "slack off," and most of my friends and classmates feel the same way.

Chuck Feuer
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Napoleonic Strategies

I disagree with Pete du Pont and Jeffrey Eisenach ["Poor Substitute," Dec. 31] in their conclusion that govern-

ment's war on poverty should be declared lost and ended rather than consider new strategies. Has any strategy other than "top-down subsidized poverty" ever been tried? A bold strategy might well work, as Napoleon showed at the Battle of Austerlitz when he deliberately drew an attack on his right wing, divided the enemy and won his greatest battle.

My new strategic government program would be called WED. The letters would stand for: Welfare—eliminate it; Education—go to a voucher system; Drugs—decriminalize them. This program would save hundreds of billions of dollars, make our cities livable again, and rescue our underclass from a life of poverty. But like all great social programs we would need a rallying cry. I suggest words spoken almost forty years ago by that great moral philosopher Elmer Fudd: "Better WED than dead."

Charles O. Vimmerstedt
Cleveland, Ohio

A Taxing Exchange

Neither Dick Armey nor Lawrence Kudlow ["Letters," Dec. 19] mentions two of the most important beneficial results that might be expected from a flat tax. One of these is the huge saving to be realized from a change in the cost of assessment, collection, and enforcement. Charles Adams, in his book *For Good and Evil*, estimated that 5.4 billion hours are spent on preparation, at a cost of some \$600 billion; then there are IRS costs at \$6 billion (1990), taxpayer compliance at \$232 billion, and litigation and avoidance at \$64 billion. This is an amount which approaches 80 per cent of the cost of Medicare, which ranks pretty high on everyone's worry list. Second, and perhaps even more important, would be the reduction of the Gestapo-like power of the IRS, which is, to put it mildly, an affront to our Constitution. It is difficult to conceive of a situation worse than the one we now have. I say, "Go for it, Mr. Armey."

Clay Thomson
San Francisco, Calif.

Clearly Mr. Armey is on the side of the angels. The byzantine and bloated United States Tax Code is an affront to any rational, civilized human being. Mr. Armey's proposed simplification is rational and doable. Total taxes to be collected remain the same, yet those earning less than \$36,800 a year, probably 75 per cent of all taxpayers, will pay no federal income taxes (yes, Mr. Kudlow, that's OK).

Yet there are two major obstacles. First, there must be a million or so people today whose jobs are directly dependent on our current tax laws. Lawyers, politicians, and support staff work to create practically unintelligible rules and regulations based on a philosophy of extracting the greatest amount of "revenue" with the smallest number of squeals. Other legions are involved in coping with the system, including analysis, filing returns, enforcement, going to court, lobbying, and much more (let us not forget paper producers). The upshot of this is that we can expect unbelievable torrents of money and irrational speeches designed to defeat a flat tax.

Mr. Kudlow names the second obstacle: "the government cannot be trusted" not to raise tax rates once it has eliminated deductions. The solution is to adorn a responsibly written constitutional Balanced Budget Amendment with a two-thirds vote requirement to raise any taxes.

John Hirsch
Austin, Tex.

I am greatly encouraged by Dick Armey's calling for a flat tax. However, I take issue with his describing his own proposal as a "fair, neutral flat tax."

Perhaps Mr. Armey needs to rethink what constitutes "fair, neutral, and flat." Five per cent, no exemptions, no deductions is fair, neutral, and flat—a \$5,300 deduction for each child and a higher exemption for single heads of household is *not*. Once again, we're back to the same old system of exemptions and special treatment for special groups, which is the antithesis of a true flat tax.

Marti Todd
Walterboro, S.C.

Sheer Pleasure

"Takings Cause" [Dec. 19] by Jonathan Adler: What an excellent article. To someone living in northwest Montana, the source of many of these disputes, it is a true pleasure to read a comprehensive overview.

Robert J. Uithof
Libby, Mont.

Northern Exposure

I am sure many South Dakotans were relieved that you have managed to send Senator Daschle to North Dakota ["For the Record," Dec. 19]. Could you now do us Iowans a favor and send Senator Harkin to Minnesota? It would save us a lot of embarrassing explanations.

Daniel Anderson
Sioux City, Iowa

NATIONAL REVIEW

January 23 issue; printed January 4

John O'Sullivan *Editor*

Senior Editors

Peter Brimelow / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Jacob Sullum *Articles Editor*
Matthew Carolan *Executive Editor*
David Klinghoffer *Literary Editor*
Rich Lowry *National Political Reporter*
Lawrence Kudlow *Economics Editor*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Luba Kolomytseva *Art Director*
Karina Rollins *Associate Editor*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Jeanne Shanahan *Assistant to the Editor*
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Tracy Lee Simmons
Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Jennifer Curry
Millie Fletcher / Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Research Assistants
Russell Jenkins / James Voris
Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Andrew Ferguson
John Gray / Florence King
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn / Anthony Lejeune
Stephen Markman / Richard John Neuhaus
Kate Walsh O'Beirne / Paul Craig Roberts
Peter Samuel / John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Vin Weber
Timothy J. Wheeler

Thomas L. Rhodes *President*

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-at-Large*

Contributors

Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / David Brudnoy / Richard C. Carpenter
John Chamberlain / Donald Cox
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas
D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall
Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner
Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / Robert S. Strother
J. O. Tate / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopoulos / S. L. Varnado
Richard Vigilante / Charles Wallen Jr.
Chilton Williamson Jr.
Jack Fowler *Assistant Publisher*
Kevin Longstreet *Assistant to the Publisher*
Barbara Nowack *Assistant to the President*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*
Galina Veygman *Accounting Manager*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Business Services
Alex Batey / Lisa Champagne / Terri Cohen
Julie Crane / Karen Pinckney
Circulation 212-679-7330
Theresa Maloney *Circulation Director*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Marketing & Advertising Sales
212-679-3923
Donald W. Burkett *Director*
Direct Response Advertising
Scott Budd *Director*
Todd Westover
Jennifer L. Bancks *Advertising Sales Assistant*
Edward A. Capano *Publisher*

FROM THE EDITOR

To Hell and Back

■ The title, *Inside Stalin's Gulag*, pricked my interest, and I dipped into the book. It was enough. I took it home and read it in one sitting.

Its author, Kazimierz Zarod, a young civil servant in pre-war Poland, was captured when his department left Warsaw to escape the German invasion and ran instead into the Red Army invading from the East. He spent a nightmarish 18 months in two Soviet labor camps, surviving brutal interrogations, starvation rations, Stakhanovite work norms, severe illness, all the horrors of utopia, but also witnessing courage, ingenuity, and altruism in his cold hell.

But the Gulag is only half the book. When Germany invaded the USSR, Polish POWs were released to join the free Polish forces in Britain. Mr. Zarod had adventures enough for ten lives during his epic journey across wartime Russia and via Bombay and Cape-town—the last being a desperate swim to catch a British warship when his own ship was sunk by a U-boat.

In the end he arrived safely, joined the Polish Air Force, married an English girl, settled in Britain, and lived to revisit a free Poland. A happier ending than for most of those swept up by this century's totalitarianisms. But Mr. Zarod has kept their memory alive in this moving book. Out of print in Britain—the Book Guild in Lewes, Sussex, still has a few copies—*Inside Stalin's Gulag* deserves to find a U.S. publisher.

■ Almost 200,000 Poles, released from the Gulag in 1941, found their way to Britain by 1942. Most remained; others emigrated to the U.S. With so many witnesses, there was little excuse for not knowing that the Soviets were murderers and slavers on a massive scale.

Yet liberal opinion, especially in the media, glossed over the crimes of Communism when it did not ignore them.

Why? In an important *NR* article last year, Paul Hollander argued that this nescience reflected both a terror of being accused of McCarthyism and an

uncomfortable feeling of complicity in crimes committed by regimes that had enjoyed the support of prominent liberals almost until their collapse.

All the more reason to applaud one influential liberal reporter, William Shawcross, the author of *Sideshow*, who writes in the *London Times*: "Those of us who opposed the American war in Indochina should be extremely humble in the face of the appalling aftermath: a form of genocide in Cambodia . . . Looking back on my own coverage, I think I concentrated too easily on the corruption and incompetence of the South Vietnamese and their American allies [and] was too ignorant of the inhuman Hanoi regime . . ."

But I suspect this *mea culpa* means Mr. Shawcross is an ex-liberal.

■ He was writing on the "Gott affair," which briefly rocked Britain before Christmas. Richard Gott, the literary editor of the ultra-liberal *Guardian* newspaper, was accused by the *Spectator* of having been a paid KGB agent.

Mr. Gott resigned, but claimed that he hadn't received straight cash, merely expenses for trips abroad to meet his genial KGB controllers.

Most commentators confirmed Paul Hollander's insight by avoiding anything that smacked of McCarthyism. Mr. Gott's secret dealings with a hostile regime, which imprisoned and murdered political opponents right through the 1980s, was treated as no big deal.

The *Guardian's* editor, Peter Preston, joked that it was hardly surprising that the Soviets had lost the Cold War if their idea of a spy was the quixotic Gott. Other apologists said loftily that his journalism had been innocently Maoist rather than corruptly Stalinist.

In this spirit, let me suggest a *Guardian* headline: *Small genocide in China; not many millions dead*. Mr. Preston might keep it in permanent type. There is no knowing when it may come in useful. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

**THE 100
GREATEST
BOOKS
EVER
WRITTEN**

*Genuine leather
bindings...
precious 22kt gold...
see for yourself
for less than the cost
of a paperback!*

*Shown smaller
than actual size.*

It takes a dozen craftsmen six months to make books this beautiful. You can own one for only \$4.95.

They may not make books like this anymore, but we do. In a New England town where "old-fashioned" is considered a compliment, The Easton Press still practices the traditional art of publishing deluxe leather books. Crafting the finest books takes time, skill and patience. But Easton Press craftsmen won't cut corners for *The 100 Greatest Books Ever Written*.

Crafted with excellence in America.

At the bindery, Betty Easterling selects top-grade genuine leather hides for the covers, inspecting them for color, grain and luster just as she's done for 29 years.

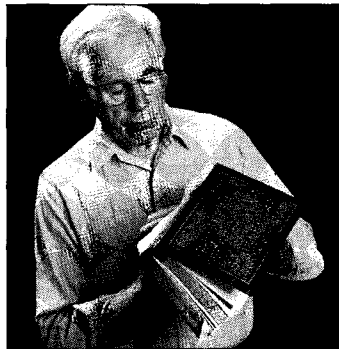
Veronica Cooper Smyth-sews the pages together using the durable crochet-and-lock stitch. Bobby Taylor stamps exquisite, specially-commissioned designs on the leather covers. With the precision of a jeweler, Rodney Cowart gilds the book's edges to seal out moisture and dust. (And add another measure of beauty.)

Roger Beaman says it best: "We combine attention to the smallest details with the hi-tech production machinery of today, to produce the highest-quality books found in the world."

Books worthy of their beautiful leather bindings.

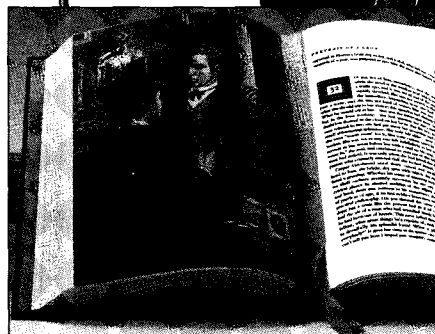
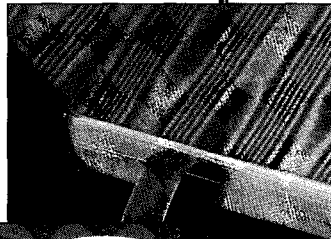
These are the books every educated person wants to own. From *Great Expectations* to the plays of William Shakespeare to the swash-buckling adven-

Leather bindings worthy of the classics within.



Meticulous inspection at every stage insures that no imperfection mars the book's beauty or compromises its perfection.

Precious 22kt gold accents, elegant satin moiré endpapers, gilded pages and bound-in ribbon markers are signs of quality rarely seen today.



The books come to life in oil paintings, lithographs, watercolors and sketches (often dozens per volume) by famous artists like Rockwell Kent, Thomas Hart Benton and others.

tures of *The Three Musketeers*, here are the books you've always meant to read, or re-read, some-day. *Madame Bovary*. *War and Peace*. *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. These are the timeless tales you are eager to embrace again, and share with the next generation.

Heirloom editions made to last for generations.

You don't have to inherit your grandfather's collection to own leather-bound books like these. *The 100 Greatest Books Ever Written* are printed on acid-neutral paper that won't yellow or crumble. The heavy-duty covers won't warp with the years. As beautiful as they look, Easton Press editions aren't just "for show." They are meant to be held, handled, read and re-read without showing wear.

Own a leather-bound book for only \$4.95.

To appreciate the quality craftsmanship of an Easton Press book, you have to caress the glove-soft leather yourself...rub your fingers along the 22kt gold-accented spine...feel the weight of the big book, and its impact on your reading pleasure. And see it on your own bookshelf. Please accept *Moby Dick* for only \$4.95 with no obligation to purchase additional books.

The Easton Press

47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

Easton Press editions are made in the United States of America for subscribers in 130 countries around the world.

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

CALL TOLL-FREE:
1-800-367-4534
Extension 1-7902

YES, send my leather-bound edition of *Moby Dick* for only \$4.95 and enter my subscription to *The 100 Greatest Books Ever Written*. If I choose, I may add to my collection at the rate of one volume each month, examining each book risk-free for 30 days and paying just \$39.50 each (plus \$3.75 shipping and handling) for the ones I keep. This special rate is guaranteed for at least two years. I may cancel at any time.

I understand you will send me a list of all the titles in the collection so I can tell you, in advance, any books I don't wish to receive.

THE 100 GREATEST BOOKS EVER WRITTEN

Satisfaction
Guaranteed

Bill \$4.95, and any future books (unless I cancel), to my:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card Number

Expiration Date

Signature

☐ I prefer to pay by check. \$4.95 enclosed.

Name

Address

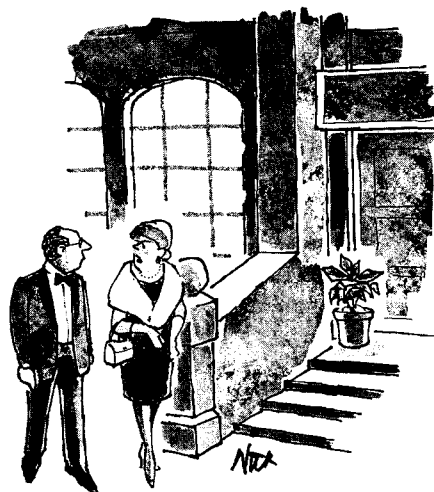
City/State/Zip

All orders subject to acceptance. Applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

■ As would-be GOP opponents maneuver, **Bill Clinton's** woes deepen. Spoiling his New Year's announcement he would run again in '96 was AP leak of report by House and Senate Banking Committee Democrats that blisters Administration (in possible hint to Prez he shouldn't run) over Whitewater lies. Johns Hopkins political scientist **Benjamin Ginsburg** says Clinton's '94 was a year "without precedent" for a modern President, "with the possible exception of **Richard Nixon's** last year." Ginsburg adds that "the advisors dropping off, the darkness coming ever closer to the White House," has "the feel of Watergate to it." Former Democratic presidential candidate **Paul Tsongas** also attacked the "cynical, poll-driven pandering of our current leadership." . . . Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R., Tex.), trying to grab early momentum in race for '96 GOP presidential nod, has made visits to campaign organizers in more than 20 cities since November election and plans huge Dallas fundraiser in February. . . . Meanwhile, ace GOP fundraiser **Larry Bathgate** has reportedly agreed to serve as finance chairman for **Jack Kemp** campaign. According to one close Kemp associate, former HUD secretary spent vacation in Colorado prepping for '96 run; look for announcement of his campaign committee "in the next few months." . . . *Wall Street Journal* reports that Sen. **Robert Dole** (R., Kan.) likely to announce campaign committee in January; former Tennessee Gov. **Lamar Alexander** will do same in February. And despite recent hospital visit, former VP **Dan Quayle** will hit hustings again in early primary state of South Carolina.

■ Some in Capitol Hill press corps disgruntled that House GOP is making room to accommodate talk-radio hosts anxious to cover opening week of Congress. . . . New GOP Senate won't rewrite last year's "Don't ask, don't tell" policy on gays-in-military. But

Washington Times's **Rowan Scarborough** reports that both Armed Services Committee Chairman **Strom Thurmond** (R., S.C.) and manpower subcommittee chairman **Dan Coats** (R., Ind.) may hold hearings to see that Pentagon and Justice Dept. enforce ban on gays in uniform who admit to homosexuality. If courts strike down ban, Coats promises "an immediate response" from Congress. . . . FDA Chief **David Kessler** (who now talks about himself in third person, according to report by **James Bovard** in *American Spectator*) is not intimidated by GOP Congress's criticism of his health-scare tactics and regulatory obsessions. Some Kessler staffers say he is considering run for Senate or even Presidency. . . . Sen. **James M. Inhofe** (R., Okla.) said in GOP response to Clinton radio talk: "For the first time in our adult lives, big-government liberalism will no longer be the dominant moving force in the legislative branch." . . . *N.Y. Times* story saying Clinton passed up chance to visit troops in Haiti in order to attend his beloved Renaissance Weekend gabfest at Hilton Head resort in South Carolina has more surprising item: conservative direct-mail expert **Richard Viguerie** is "a fixture" at



"—and don't you dare mention we voted for Eisenhower."

yearly event. Less surprising news in quote from one Democratic attendee: "I would say **Richard Viguerie** is a lot happier this year."

■ Japan has passed Switzerland as world's wealthiest nation, with per-capita gross domestic product of \$33,764. Luxembourg, Denmark, and Germany follow, with U.S. in fifth place at \$24,412. . . . U.S. may not re-join UNESCO, which **Reagan** Administration left in 1984 because of corruption and East Bloc domination; State Dept. request for \$65 million to pay dues was just dropped from White House budget. . . . Fearing loss of U.S. aid, Nicaragua may at long last give back properties Sandinistas expropriated during Marxist revolution. New Foreign Relations Committee Chairman **Jesse Helms** has publicly raised issue. . . . Charismatic **Jaime Cardinal Ortega y Alamino**, Cuba's first Catholic cardinal in more than 30 years, has rattled **Castro's** regime with forthright criticism and reassertion of Church's role in charitable work. Castro says, however, he does not believe the Cardinal's elevation was a direct shot at his regime by Rome: "When we appoint a member of the Central Committee the Vatican doesn't consider it a challenge." . . . And in Paris, **Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger** has defended right of schoolgirls from France's 4 million Muslim population to wear traditional headscarves banned by schools. Lustiger, a Jewish convert, says scarves—like crucifixes and yarmulkes—will not "destabilize the Republic." . . . Ethiopian Emperor **Haile Selassie**, who warned League of Nations in 1936 that others would be victims if Italian fascism wasn't stopped, was "most cruelly strangled in his bed," according to prosecutors of Ethiopia's former Communist rulers and mass murderers under **Mengistu Haile Mariam**.

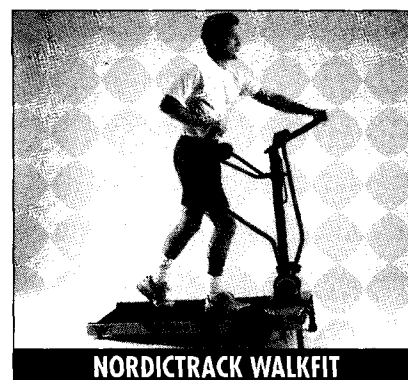
■ *National Examiner's* soothsayers have scary '95 predictions. According to psychic **Gary Spivey**, **Jacqueline Kennedy** will appear to **Hillary Clinton** in a dream, tell her she is smarter than her husband, and convince her to run in his place. Future-teller **Miriam Garabrant** has worse news: **Rush Limbaugh**, who has made many millions off books and newsletter, will lose fortune, go on welfare, and join the Democratic Party.

HEALTHMAX® TREADMILL BEATS NORDICTRACK™! COSTS \$300 LESS!

Both **HEALTHMAX** and NordicTrack WalkFit give you an upper and lower body workout along with the superior exercise of a non-motorized treadmill. But there are 11 powerful reasons to choose **HEALTHMAX TREADMILL**:



HEALTHMAX TREADMILL



NORDICTRACK WALKFIT

1	Low Price	YES	\$299 (plus \$59 shipping/handling)	NO	\$599⁹⁵ (plus \$49.95 shipping/handling)
2	Superior Workout of a Non-Motorized Treadmill	YES	Non-motorized means you set the pace for a better workout and greater calorie burn. No motor means safety and no maintenance, too.	YES	NordicTrack knows they're on to something here. BUT... HEALTHMAX gives you as much and more for about 1/2 the price!
3	Total-Body Muscular and Cardiovascular Workout	YES	Works upper and lower body for most effective total-body workout. Ordinary treadmills only work lower body.	YES	BUT...Why would you pay \$300 more than HEALTHMAX TREADMILL?
4	Full 44" Tread Length	YES	Long tread designed for running and walking.	NO	Shorter 41 1/2" tread limits stride length machine can accommodate.
5	7 Incline Positions	YES	7 different tread incline angles give a full range of workout intensity.	NO	Only 6 incline positions — why would you pay \$300 more?
6	Variable Resistance on Arm Exercise Poles and Tread	YES	Adjusts to your personal resistance level with a simple twist of a dial. Arm pole resistance is 2-way — push and pull — for maximum workout.	YES	BUT...WalkFit costs almost twice as much as HEALTHMAX!
7	Electronic Workout Monitor	YES	7-function monitor tracks your workout progress.	YES	BUT... Are you sure you want to spend \$300 more than HEALTHMAX TREADMILL?
8	Pulse Monitor Included	YES	Monitors your heart rate for optimum — and safe — workout.	NO	Not included. To get one, you must pay an extra \$149.95 for their optional "workout computer."
9	Folds for Easy Storage	YES	Easily folds to just 53" long by 21" wide by only 11" high!	YES	BUT...When folded, it's still 53" long by 24" wide by a cumbersome 18" high.
10	Comes Virtually Fully Assembled	YES	Simply attach monitor and 3 knobs, and you're ready to go!	NO	Requires more extensive assembly.
11	Payable in Installments	YES	8 easy credit card installments of just \$37.38! (\$59 shipping/handling added to first installment.)	YES	BUT...You start by paying \$169.90, then you must pay \$39.95 per month for 12 months, then a final \$34.54! (includes 12% interest)

You set the pace for a superior upper and lower body workout!

By exercising your entire body simultaneously — the muscles in your arms, shoulders, back, chest, abdomen, buttocks and legs — **HEALTHMAX** gives you a non-motorized muscular and aerobic workout that ordinary treadmills, rowers or exercise bikes can't match! And it does all this at a price that's *half* that of NordicTrack's WalkFit! So don't delay, pick up the phone and order your **HEALTHMAX TREADMILL** today. And while you're using it, you can think of all the things you can do with the \$300 you've saved!

**CALL TOLL-FREE FOR A 30-DAY
NO-RISK IN-HOME TRIAL:**

1-800-458-4652 Ext. 762-204

HEALTHMAX®

WalkFit is a trademark of NordicTrack, Inc.

47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

©1995 MBI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ CIA intelligence is so bad, James Woolsey's sudden resignation took him by complete surprise.

■ If a budding author gets three covers of *Time* magazine in as many months, hostile caricatures on every editorial page, and enough other media mentions for a Nexis printout the size of a Chinese menu, then he will get \$4.5-million book deals. High office has nothing to do with it. If Carl Albert were Speaker, he wouldn't rate a \$45 book deal, even if Rupert Murdoch wished to curry favor with him. That said, Speaker Gingrich was politically prudent to let the advance go. When it comes to the mores of the demos, the most powerful politician in America is still Andy Jackson.

■ Joseph Hendrickson, a former pilot for Tyson Foods, the giant chicken company and corporate FOB in Arkansas, has said under oath, both to the FBI and to Donald Smaltz, Independent Counsel in the Mike Espy case, that he used to ferry envelopes stuffed with \$100 bills from Tyson to Little Rock for use by then Governor Bill Clinton. Tyson spokesmen scoff, but Hendrickson faces jail if it is not true. The media don't seem interested, but perhaps they cannot grasp the complicated concept of a politician getting cash under the table from a company seeking regulatory favors.

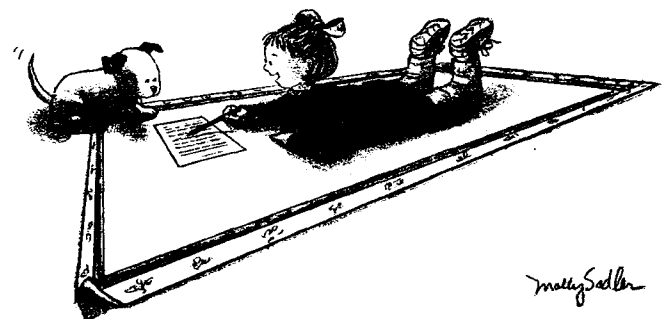
■ The President should be able to do his job undistracted by needless litigation; yet he cannot be above the law. In a 1982 case, *Nixon v. Fitzgerald*, the Supreme Court ruled that current or former Presidents could not be subject to civil suits based on their official acts. But, of course, it was the prospect of criminal trial by Congress which had driven the defendant in that case out of office eight years earlier. U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright has ruled that Paula Jones's suit against Bill Clinton may go forward, since it concerns events that allegedly occurred before he was elected. The trial must wait until after he leaves office, which should give him ample freedom to posture on Bosnia and wrangle with Newt Gingrich, but discovery may begin forthwith, which allows Paula Jones's lawyers to take testimony while it is still fairly fresh. The solution is not ideal: depositions can take as much of a President's time as a trial, and there is always the possibility of leaks. But the precedent is sound, and it will better serve occupants of the Oval Office less encumbered by their pasts than this one.

■ The latest entrant into the Clinton Administration's crowded investigatory sweepstakes is Ira Magaziner, intellectual engineer of the Administration's 1,400-page Health Security Act (RIP). Mr. Magaziner swore to U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth in March of 1993 that Hillary Clinton's health-care task force consisted entirely of federal employees, and that the private consultants it did hire had no supervisory or decision-making function. The assurance helped keep task-force proceedings closed to the public. The trouble is, according to Judge Lamberth, it's now clear that Mr. Magaziner (not known for skimping on the details) was widely wrong on both counts. The judge has asked the U.S. Attorney to investigate Magaziner's possible perjury, with the complicity of St. Hillary possibly becoming an intriguing sidelight. Mr. Magaziner could always plead temporary insanity. He has 1,400 pages of documentation to prove it.

■ Mr. Clinton, quoted in *Newsweek*, said, "I find it amazing that anybody could question whether I have core beliefs." Does this mean that his core belief is that he has core beliefs, or that he has a core belief that no one else could disbelieve his core belief that he has core beliefs? We await this week's press conference, and next week's, and those in following weeks, for various answers to these difficult questions.

■ David Kessler, commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, does not seem to have caught the drift of the last election. He just announced his agency will move to a 500-acre site at Clarksburg, Maryland, 30 miles northwest of central D.C., and says he wants \$675 million for a new office and laboratory complex, which will be "one of the largest federal construction projects ever." This, so that the FDA can consolidate its operations and more efficiently harass, extort, terrorize, and obstruct entrepreneurs and innovators trying to bring new pharmaceuticals and foods to the marketplace. Mr. Kessler should take a pill, and call Dr. Gingrich in the morning.

■ What if the President gave a speech and nobody came? That about sums up the non-reaction to Bill Clinton's "Middle-Class Bill of Rights" address. The



"Take your time, Sparky. Identifying the main idea is not an easy trick."

THE MOST POWERFUL COMPACT RADIO IN THE WORLD!



First and ONLY world band with award-winning vertical design. Measures approximately 7 3/8" x 4 1/2" x 1 1/8", with built-in stand and retractable ferrite antenna.

© 1994 MBI

THE GRUNDIG YB-500 FM/AM Shortwave Receiver

Listen! Here is the BIG BREAKTHROUGH in powerful performance and design. Not in stores. . . Now available to you in the U.S.A. from Willabee & Ward. No other compact radio packs all these powerful features.

▲ **POWERFUL RECEPTION.** The Grundig YB-500 **does it all:** pulls in AM, FM, FM stereo, **every** SHORTWAVE band, even aviation, military and ship-to-shore. All with lock-on digital precision.

▲ **POWERFUL SOUND.** Exclusive Audio Power Boost — found on no other world band radio — gives the YB-500 big, rich, room-filling legendary Grundig sound.

Powerful Features.

Power scan! The YB-500 has continuous power scan on shortwave — stops at every signal and lets you listen. When you hear a broadcast you want, you tell the radio to stop. Only Grundig has this feature.

Power timing features! The YB-500 can send you to sleep on FM, wake you with weather on AM, then switch you to BBC shortwave. Even shuts itself off. Elsewhere, you'd pay \$500 for these features.

Powerful Memory.

The BBC and all major world broadcasters are pre-set for instant retrieval. You can add

40 more stations on any band and display call letters for reference. No other radio at this price offers such powerful memory.

Also has instant keypad access to all frequencies. Illuminated, adjustable LCD display for bedside use. Advanced RDS FM station information display. It will be years before other makers catch up with the YB-500. But it is available today from Willabee & Ward.

Powerful Value.

The Grundig YB-500 is only \$299 (plus \$9.50 shipping and handling), payable in eight monthly credit card installments of \$38.56. Includes 4 AA batteries, deluxe travel pouch, stereo headphones, owner's manual, and Grundig's shortwave listening guide. **INTRODUCTORY OFFER: ORDER NOW AND GET A FREE DUAL-VOLTAGE INTERNATIONAL ADAPTER!**

Grundig 1-year warranty on parts and labor. 30-day money back guarantee. Grundig is to radios what BMW and Mercedes are to cars. European look! European sound! European quality! Order now!

Phone orders normally shipped next business day.

Call Toll-Free: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 697-512

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857



Call Toll-Free: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 697-512

Please send me _____ Grundig YB-500 Digital All-Band Shortwave Receiver(s). For each receiver, charge eight installments of \$38.56* to my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____
Please Print Clearly.

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Signature _____
(Orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to pay by credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for \$299 plus \$9.50 shipping/handling, a total of \$308.50* for each receiver.

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. Higher shipping/handling outside U.S.

advance hype promised a new beginning. Mr. Clinton would catch up with—nay, overtake—Newt's bandwagon by proposing the outright elimination of the Departments of Energy, and Housing and Urban Development, the better to pay for sweeping middle-class tax relief. In the end, as an anonymous staffer said, "The President couldn't bring himself to do it." Instead Mr. Clinton delivered pabulum: marginal changes to marginal programs, tax credits that are phased in over many years, and phased out entirely above certain incomes. An opportunity lost? Probably not. Clinton has long pooh-poohed the notion that middle-class tax concerns were important to his election. At this late date no one would have taken his professed hard right turn seriously anyway—least of all his fellow Democrats. Indeed, a few days before the President spoke, House Democrats led by Dick Gephardt saw fit to pre-empt their leader and announce their own, far stronger, tax and spending proposals. The lifeboats are in the water; women and office-holders first.

■ Mr. Clinton's core belief this week is that he will seek re-election in 1996.

■ If Congress enacts the Contract with America in, oh, ninety days instead of a hundred, here is another task for it: to straighten out, by a simple majority vote, the mess the U.S. Supreme Court made in 1962 when seven Justices banned voluntary prayer in school classrooms. There has been talk about a constitutional amendment, but that requires a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the states—a courting of failure that is totally unnecessary, since the Constitution gives Gingrich & Company two clear ways to correct the Justices' folly. 1) Article III, which created the Court, empowers Congress to make "exceptions and regulations" to the Court's appellate jurisdiction. Thus legislators can take whole classes of cases out of the Court's purview. As Professor Herbert Wechsler, Columbia law professor emeritus and longtime executive director of the American Law Institute, noted: "The plan of the Constitution was quite simply that Congress has the

power, by enactment of a statute, to strike at what it deems excess." 2) The Fourteenth Amendment, under which the Justices claim authority to impose their interpretations of the Bill of Rights on the states, specifically provides: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation," the rights the amendment creates. So if the legislators disapprove of the Justices' rulings, they can substitute their own. Chief Justice Earl Warren, for example, specifically acknowledged in the famous *Miranda* decision that Congress could, by simple statute, write different rules for police interrogations. May Congress give the matter prayerful consideration.

■ Mr. Clinton core-believes he can get health-care reform passed in this Congress. OK, skeptics, if this isn't proof of an almost miraculous faith, what is?

■ Judge Stephen Reinhardt of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has struck down Arizona's "Official English" constitutional amendment. Judge Reinhardt, a notoriously liberal Carter appointee who has attempted vainly to sabotage other English-language workplace rules, claimed that the measure was unconstitutionally broad and would have forbidden universities to issue diplomas in Latin and judges to say "Mazel Tov" at weddings. Supporters of Official English ridicule these canards, and note that the Hispanic state employee who challenged their law was not, as she maintained, prohibited from dealing with clients in Spanish. She admitted on the stand that she had insisted on writing internal documents in Spanish, although her supervisor spoke only English. Robert Park, chairman of Arizonans for Official English (P.O. Box 25518, Prescott Valley, Ariz. 86312), says his group will now appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. It will do so without the help of Republican Governor Fife Symington, who has wimped out, refusing to defend the measure. It is absurd to maintain that our fundamental organic law mandates passivity in the face of progressive linguistic Balkanization. As Justice Jackson said long ago, the U.S. Constitution is not a suicide pact. And that applies to national suicide too.

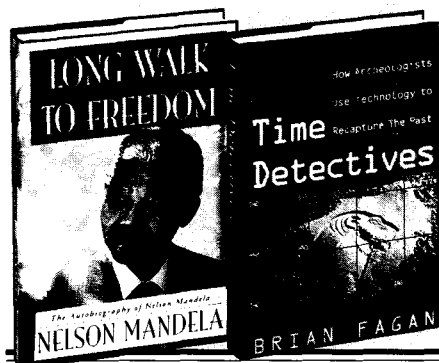
Let the Cutting Commence

The sow has been sedated.
The surgeon (Dr. Newt)
Has crayoned where incisions
Will shortly follow suit.
The gallery is crowded.
The Democrats are pale,
Aware that this procedure
Precludes more pork for sale.

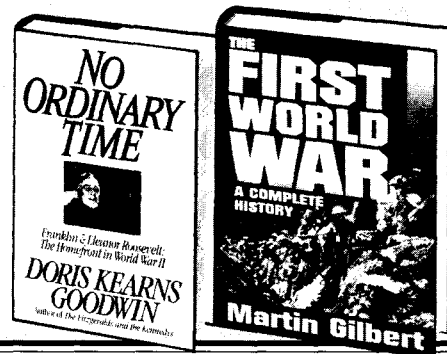
W. H. VON DREELE

■ The ordeal of Kelly Michaels has ended. The prosecutors in Essex County, New Jersey, who secured her conviction in 1988 on 115 counts of child abuse, subsequently overturned on appeal, have decided not to pursue another trial. The absurd allegations against Miss Michaels were produced through the systematic intimidation of young children, whose testimony never should have made it into court. But it did. Miss Michaels might still be in jail (she spent about five years there) if it weren't for the courageous journalism of Dorothy Rabinowitz, who helped turn the public tide in the case, seconded by Rich Lowry in *NR* ("Creating Victims," December 5). Justice has finally been done; if only the injustice could be undone.

ALL THE BEST HISTORY IN ONE PLACE.



**Take any 3
for \$1 each
plus a 4th at 35% off
the publisher's price
with no risk,
no commitment.**



18-2247. Pub. price \$24.95

The Battle of Leyte Gulf:
23-26 October, 1944
by Thomas J. Cutler
48-2145. Pub. price \$25

The Bible as History,
2nd Revised Edition
by Werner Keller
58-3012. Pub. price \$21.95

**The Celts: The People Who
Came Out of the Darkness**
by Gerhard Herm
78-1859. Pub. price \$15

**The Civilization of Europe in
the Renaissance**
by John Hale
38-2160. Pub. price \$35

**The Class of 1846: From
West Point to Appomattox**
—Stonewall, McClellan and
Their Brothers
by John C. Waugh
78-1747. Pub. price \$29.95

**Conquest: Montezuma,
Cortés, and the Fall of Old
Mexico** by Hugh Thomas.
How Cortés and a small band
of Spanish adventurers
conquered Aztec Mexico,
a warrior empire of millions.
58-2000. Pub. price \$30

**Constantine the Great:
The Man and His Times**
by Michael Grant
48-2024. Pub. price \$27.50

88-2366. Pub. price \$24

**D-Day June 6, 1944:
The Climactic Battle of
World War II**
by Stephen E. Ambrose
28-1855. Pub. price \$30

Diplomacy
by Henry Kissinger
78-1922. Pub. price \$35

**Egypt, Canaan and Israel
in Ancient Times**
by Donald B. Redford
98-0786. Pub. price \$39.95

**Eleanor Roosevelt:
Volume One 1884-1933**
by Blanche Wiesen Cook
28-0779. Pub. price \$27.50

Family by Ian Frazier. The
wonderfully eclectic saga
of an American family.
58-2322. Pub. price \$23

**The Forbidden Bestsellers
of Pre-Revolutionary
France** by Robert Darnon
58-2427. Pub. price \$27.50

**Great Catherine: The Life
of Catherine the Great,
Empress of Russia**
by Carolyn Erickson
88-2011. Pub. price \$25

**The Great Depression:
America in the 1930s**
by T.H. Watkins.
48-1615. Pub. price \$24.95

45 books to choose from

**The Haldeman Diaries:
Inside the Nixon White
House** by H.R. Haldeman,
with an Introduction by
Stephen E. Ambrose
48-2120. Pub. price \$27.50

Henry V
by Christopher Allmand
18-1532. Pub. price \$35

**The Historical Figure of
Jesus** by E.P. Sanders
48-2081. Pub. price \$27.50

**A History of the Israeli-
Palestinian Conflict**
by Mark Tessler.
This most complete history
presents the Arab and Israeli
perspectives with equal
balance. Softcover
58-2201. Pub. price \$27.50

**A History of the Vikings,
Revised Edition**
by Gwyn Jones
28-1172. Pub. price \$25

A History of Warfare
by John Keegan
68-1569. Pub. price \$27.50

**The Holocaust:
The Fate of European
Jewry, 1932-1945**
by Leni Yahil
88-0369. Pub. price \$35

**Knight's Cross:
The Life of Field Marshal
Erwin Rommel**
by David Fraser
48-1936. Pub. price \$30

Lenin: A New Biography
by Dmitri Volkogonov
18-2327. Pub. price \$30

The Naturalist
by Edward O. Wilson
88-2333. Pub. price \$24.95

**1,001 Things Everyone
Should Know About
American History**
by John A. Garraty
38-0016. Pub. price \$19.95

The Ottomans
by Andrew Wheatcroft
28-1950. Pub. price \$29.95

**Pale Blue Dot: A Vision of
the Human Future in Space**
by Carl Sagan
98-2375. Pub. price \$35

Paul Revere's Ride
by David Hackett Fischer
78-2010. Pub. price \$27.50

**The Presidency of
Abraham Lincoln**
by Phillip Shaw Paludan.
A detailed exposition of why
Lincoln was one of America's
greatest presidents.
58-2146. Pub. price \$29.95

38-2216. Pub. price \$30

**President Kennedy:
Profile of Power**
by Richard Reeves
18-1612. Pub. price \$30

**The Private Life of
Chairman Mao**
by Dr. Li Zhisui with
Anne F. Thurston. An
unprecedented insider's
portrait, written by Mao's
personal physician.
48-2200. Pub. price \$30

**Readings in the Classical
Historians** Edited by
Michael Grant. The works of
23 great ancient historians
are presented and analyzed
in this unique anthology.
98-0310. Pub. price \$32.50

The Ruin of Kasch
by Roberto Calasso.
Translated by William Weaver
and Stephen Sartarelli
58-2388. Pub. price \$24.95

**The Scramble for Africa:
The White Man's Conquest
of the Dark Continent from
1876 to 1912**
by Thomas Pakenham
68-0734. Pub. price \$32

**The Third Day at
Gettysburg & Beyond**
Edited by Gary W. Gallagher
18-2343. Pub. price \$24.95

48-2297. Pub. price \$35

Truman
by David McCullough.
The award-winning, highly
acclaimed biography of an
extraordinary "ordinary" man.
98-0800. Pub. price \$30

**Understanding the Dead
Sea Scrolls: A Reader
from the Biblical
Archaeology Review**
Edited by Hershel Shanks
88-0960. Pub. price \$23

**Warpaths: Invasions of
North America**
by Ian K. Steele. A sweeping
history of the European
invasions of North America
and the Amerindian attempts
to subdue them.
68-2163. Pub. price \$25

**Women's Work: The First
20,000 Years—Women,
Cloth and Society in
Early Times** by
Elizabeth Wayland Barber
98-2141. Pub. price \$23

**A World at Arms: A Global
History of World War II**
by Gerhard L. Weinberg. The
most expansive military
history of World War II ever
written, offering a truly global
analysis of the conflict.
38-1848. Pub. price \$34.95

Save on the best history titles.

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings—as much as 25% off publishers' list prices.

You can save even more by taking advantage of our Introductory Offer. Select any three books on this page for \$1 each when you take a fourth book at 35% off the publisher's price, plus shipping and handling. Thereafter, you're not obligated to order any more books. You may cancel membership at any time by notifying History Book Club. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

How the Club works. You'll be able to choose from 150 to 200 books featured each month. History Book Club always offers its members well-made, long-lasting editions.

You'll receive our Review and a dated Reply Form 17 times a year (about every 3 weeks). If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing—the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Your HBC guarantee. If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice," because you had fewer than 10 days to decide, just send it back and owe nothing.

Guarantee of Satisfaction

You may examine your introductory books for 10 days, free. If you are not satisfied, for any reason whatsoever, simply return the books and you will be under no further obligation.



History Book Club® Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk, no-commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the four books I have listed below. Bill me \$1 each for 3 choices, and the fourth at 35% off the publisher's price, plus shipping and handling.

3 choices at \$1 each:

**35% off the
publisher's price:**

Name

(Please print clearly.)

Address

Apt. #

City

State

Zip

All orders subject to approval.

Prices and offer may differ in Canada. © 1995 History Book Club, Inc.

H123-1-4

5-19

#053

To help us serve you,
please tell us what
you like to read.

	STRONGLY DISLIKE	SOMEWHAT DISLIKE	NO OPINION	SOMEWHAT LIKE	STRONGLY LIKE
A. Civil War	1	2	3	4	5
B. Ancient History	1	2	3	4	5
C. Military History	1	2	3	4	5
D. American History	1	2	3	4	5
E. British History	1	2	3	4	5
F. Russia, Asia, the Middle East	1	2	3	4	5
G. European History	1	2	3	4	5
H. Current Affairs	1	2	3	4	5
I. Social/Intellectual History	1	2	3	4	5

■ White House theologians are even now debating whether the statement, "Everybody has to believe in something. I believe I'll have another Big Mac," constitutes a core belief.

■ On December 30, North Korea released Bobby Hall, the U.S. Army pilot it had detained for nearly two weeks after his helicopter strayed across the DMZ. The Administration hailed the release as a triumph of "quiet diplomacy." In truth, every humiliating day of Hall's detention was a stinging rebuke of the Administration and of the accord it had signed with North Korea in October on nuclear cooperation. That accord, with its U.S. commitments to bankroll North Korea's energy needs and to step up economic and political normalization, ostensibly bought us a new relationship with the gang in Pyongyang. Instead, Pyongyang denounced Bobby Hall as a "spy" and tried to force a "confession" out of him. Sounds a lot like the *old* relationship we had with North Korea.

■ French commandos brought a short, sharp end to the hijacking of an Air France jetliner by Algerian Islamic extremists, assaulting the plane at Marseilles airport, killing the hijackers, and rescuing the passengers. But even in failure, the Algerian extremists demonstrated a frightening new boldness in their three-year war against the Algiers government. Foreigners are targets of Islamic wrath, for their corrupting cultural influence and (in the case of the French) for their backing of Algiers. The U.S. Government has tried mightily to distance itself from France, in the hope of winning the radicals' goodwill. But it seems not to have contemplated that if the radicals take over Algeria, then Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt will be threatened—and so much for Algerian goodwill.

■ Newt Gingrich hosted a showing of the movie *Boys' Town* on the TNT cable network. Already reserved for the DNC's new chairman: *The Seventh Seal*.

■ Number-crunching scaremongers in federal agencies have long deployed what they call "conservative"

assumptions. If it seems likely that a 5-year-old playing in his yard will ingest 10mg of soil a day, they will say: "Because we don't have irrefutable data to substantiate a rate of 10mg/day, we'd better assume for safety's sake that the kid ingests 100mg/day." When they aren't quite sure whether the absorption rate of lead into the bloodstream from the above-mentioned soil is 10 per cent or 50 per cent, they will "play safe" by assuming 50 per cent. If most studies don't show any reactions to lead until there is a concentration of 30 µg/dl (micrograms per deciliter) in a child's bloodstream, but if 2 out of 20 studies show some effects as low as 10 µg/dl, the latter becomes the official "level of concern." Critics call this "compounded conservatism," because it multiplies a whole series of improbabilities to produce an absurdity, and before you know it, the Environmental Protection Agency is forcing mining companies to spend tens of millions of dollars digging up "lead contaminated" soil in places like Aspen, Salt Lake City, and Triumph, Idaho, where people show no symptoms whatever of lead poisoning. As one local councilman said: "There's always a one-in-a-million chance that a meteor will come down and hit your house, but that doesn't mean we all need meteor-proof housing." Such regulatory extremism has drawn fire even within the Clinton Administration. "Choices in Risk Assessment," a report recently commissioned for the Department of Energy from Sandia National Laboratories, casts a cold eye on environmental cleanups. Noting EPA estimates that cleaning up DOE properties will cost between \$300 billion and \$1 trillion, the report concludes: "It is political science, not analytic science, that is forcing these vast expenditures. . . . it is very uncertain what benefits to the public and the environment will be produced."

■ Pro-lion groups in California are bummed that people are increasingly invading the lions' half of the state. Mountain lions have been protected since 1972; as their numbers have increased, their habitat has widened to suburbs and, once, the campus of Stanford University. The score at the moment: Lions 2, Christians 0.

■ The Modern Language Association met in San Diego for its annual convocation of academics from the fields of literature, foreign languages, and linguistics. Also present were would-be professors fresh from the PhD mills, anxious for job leads. When not angling for interviews, participants could attend many enlightening presentations, e.g.: "Que(e)rying the Millennium," "Ever Embodying Ambiguities: The Monkey as a Signifier in Asian American Literature," and "Victorian Buggery and the Sensation of Scandal." What do they do for day jobs?

■ Hillary Clinton announced that her next post-health-care campaign will be to locate a liberal talk-

The Critic's Corner

Newt gives the nod to *Boys Town*,
While Miss Shalala dumps
On Dickens, when an orphanage
Was where kids took their lumps.
I favor Spencer Tracy,
But if I had my way,
I'd cast Shalala in *King Kong*
And watch her scream like Fay.

W. H. VON DREELE

show host to challenge the dominance of Rush Limbaugh, than whom nobody on radio is funnier. Clinton officials boasted that whoever they chose to carry the radio-wave standard would have this "trump card" in his hand: total interview access to the top ranks of current Democratic officeholders. After a few weeks, the search apparently settled on Alan Combes, a New York City talk-radio host whose guests have included sparklers Al Gore and Ed Asner—though last week a Washington station offered Mrs. Clinton herself a time

slot opposite Limbaugh. Think of it: Alan Combes questions Vice President Gore on the future of biodiversity. Hillary Clinton chats up Warren Christopher on the prospects for a UN-mediated settlement in Bosnia. Rim shots . . . *But seriously, folks . . . I know you're out there, I can hear you breathing . . .*

■ There once was a family who had a trap door in their living room. Each day the children would open it. In would climb all sorts of strange people, who would

Right Data

Retiring in Private

DO WE: a) raise Social Security taxes, b) cut benefits, or c) try a little of each? The now defunct Bipartisan Commission on Entitlements proved that U.S. politicians want none of the above. They'd rather let future pols (and voters) wrestle with the retirement program's \$6.7-trillion unfunded liability.

A painless—albeit partial—alternative would permit workers to divert part of their Social Security taxes into private retirement accounts. In 1994 \$58 billion, or roughly 20 per cent, of all payroll-tax payments were surplus funds not needed to cover current retiree benefits. By law Social Security must "invest" this surplus in Treasury debt yielding around 2 per cent per year in real terms. Workers could do far better on their own.

**LONG-TERM INVESTMENTS:
TREASURIES LAG THE PACK**
(Average Annual Rate of Return, 1926–1992)

Investment	Average Rate of Return	Years With:	
		Positive Returns	Negative Returns
Common Stocks	10.2	47	20
Corporate Bonds	5.2	52	15
30-year Treasuries	4.8	50	17
Treasury Bills	3.7	66	1
Inflation Rate	3.1	57	10

Source: Ibbotson and Sinquefeld, *Stocks, Bonds, Bills, and Inflation*, 1992 Yearbook

Between 1926 and 1992 common stocks were by far the best long-term investment, earning a 10.2 average annual rate of return. Corporate bonds were a distant second. Long-term government bonds lay slightly below corporates, while Treasury bills with maturities of less than one year barely beat inflation. (To be sure, bills were far less risky, losing ground in only one year.)

An average worker born in 1960 could, according

to the GAO, boost his monthly retirement income by 23.6 per cent were he allowed to invest his surplus contribution in common stocks. Alternatively, the gains from partial privatization could finance tax cuts. The CBO estimates that each percentage-point rise in the rate of return on trust-fund assets would enable payroll-tax rates to fall by 0.25 percentage point, while keeping benefits the same.

Chile went further. In 1981 it decided to allow workers to opt out of its state-run retirement program entirely. Those making the switch had to contribute 10 per cent of their wages to one of about 14 private pension funds. The funds invested in stocks, bonds, bank deposits, and government-guaranteed investments.

Chilean workers were initially reluctant to go it alone. The 14 per cent real rate of return racked up during the first ten years of privatization has assuaged their fears. If this keeps up, Chileans will be better off retired than working: analysts estimate that a rate of return of only 6 per cent is sufficient to finance pensions equal to 70 per cent of the average salary.

Today many Chileans put the maximum allowable amount—19.5 per cent of wages—into funds that cover disability, life, and health insurance as well as retirement. The private system manages assets of \$19 billion, enough to give Chile a savings rate equivalent to those of some Asian nations.

With the advent of privatization, chronic financing crises are history. A worker's benefits depend solely on his contributions—in effect, a defined-contribution plan. The government's only role is to regulate the funds and ensure a minimum pension payment if a private fund fails.

The big problem is how to finance benefits for retirees in the old system. Chile did it by running a budget surplus achieved, in part, by selling off state enterprises. For us, the transition would undoubtedly require higher budget deficits. Such deficits, of course, would merely make explicit the hidden Social Security liability that already awaits future generations of Americans.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

delight the children with unusual sights and bizarre practices. They might have sex in front of them, or hurt each other very seriously. Sometimes the children would follow these people out the door and wander to all corners of the world with them. The parents uttered not a word of complaint, for they liked it. "At least the children will leave us alone," they murmured. Apologies to Bill Bennett and *The Book of Virtues*, but this little tale is about the television set. And many of us don't worry that the electronic babysitter is molding our children's souls every day. One small way of being vigilant is by familiarizing oneself with the general tendencies of popular programs, and restricting viewing accordingly. The Media Research Center has produced a helpful *Parents' Guide to Prime Time Television*, featuring a concise summary and traffic-light signals, red, yellow or green, for various programs. Write to Publications Department, Media Research Center, 113 S. West Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314, or call 703-683-9733; and mind the door.

■ David Kamp, editor of *GQ*, warns us of the takeover of the government by "Republicans, like Vladimir Zhirinovsky, Heather Locklear, and the Sex Pistols on their 1978 tour of the United States." Well, somebody has to fill those rapidly emptying Cabinet posts.

■ Another Kwanzaa has come and gone. "And so this is Kwanzaa," John Lennon might have said, "but what have we learned?" Above all, we've learned that Kwanzaa is a holiday full of contrasts. It takes its themes from ancient words of Swahili, and yet the occasion was invented a couple of decades ago by a professor at Cal State Northridge. It's said to be an African-American "supplement to Christmas," and yet it's celebrated by the lighting of candles, like Hanukah. It's said by supporters to be mainly about the need of black consumers to patronize black businesses; and yet it's also said to be an occasion of "thanksgiving" (to Whom?) and "faith." In his "Kwanzaa Message" to the nation, President Clinton saluted the "vibrant and energizing celebration [which] offers millions an opportunity to embrace the rich cultural traditions of the African her-

itage." How many are thus energized? CNN repeatedly displayed a screen message noting the "factoid" (sarcasm apparently not intended) that "11 million Americans celebrate Kwanzaa," but the *Washington Post* puts the figure in the mere "thousands." Kwanzaa, you complex holiday. Is it a meaningless confection of incoherent Afrocentrism, gobbled up by trendy whites eager for the approval of trendy blacks? Or is it a savvy attempt by black entrepreneurs to cash in on the spiritual emptiness felt by those blacks who are moving away from their traditional Christian churches? Ah, rich, rich Kwanzaa.

■ Call it secondhand drinking. *Time* reports that a new campus temperance movement is imitating anti-smoking activists. "Restrictions on public smoking gained momentum after nonsmokers learned about the dangers of secondhand smoke," the magazine observes. "In the same way, more and more students who drink little or no alcohol have focused on the fact that other people's drunkenness isn't just unpleasant. It often leads to physical and sexual assaults and even death. . . . Enough is enough, say the campus rebels who want to stay sober." Well, they got that part right.

■ Christian Svedberg is taking a stand for big-eared people everywhere. The Associated Press reports that the 14-year-old has used an anti-stalking law to obtain a court order, upheld last month by the North Dakota Supreme Court, barring 17-year-old Anthony Stanness from calling him "Dumbo" or mocking him by building snowmen with large ears. Not everyone appreciates the gravity of these offenses. Christian's father says Dumbo has been the boy's "community nickname" since he was 4, while Anthony's mother helped build the snowmen. Maybe Christian will find a sympathetic ear on *This Week with David Brinkley*.

■ Very few magazines are attractive, amusing, interesting, well researched, and well written. *Civilization*, the new magazine from the Library of Congress, is just that. Welcome to the club!

The Denial Phase

When Hillary still played the queen
And Ira ran the health-care scene,
The latter kept reporters from
Inside proceedings, which was dumb,
But dumber still was when he swore
Feds, only, lurked behind the door,
A testimony that could cost,
Despite his fingers—which were crossed.

W. H. VON DREELE

Newtonian Politics

YOU DON'T, as they said in the Sixties, have to be a weatherman to tell which way the wind is blowing. Henry Cisneros woke up one morning to realize that much of the Department of Housing and Urban Development was unnecessary and counterproductive. Hazel O'Leary took about a week to realize her Energy Department suffered from \$10 billion worth of fat. Federico Peña suddenly stumbled on similar excess at the Transportation Department. In Washington's cultural revolution, the guiltiest of government bureaucrats tried to beat Republicans to the

punch with abject confessions of bloat, indirection, and uselessness. It was left to the Republicans merely to accept the confessions and demand more.

It is in this climate that Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich and President Bill Clinton step into the ring for a two-year bout that could fundamentally re-make American politics, and you don't have to be a Republican partisan to foresee a mismatch. Mr. Gingrich has the reach (demonstrated by the success, past and likely future, of the Contract with America), quick feet (witness his nimble re-adjustment over the infamous book contract), and weight (he cares about ideas) to keep Mr. Clinton constantly rocked back on his heels. Indeed, Gingrich has so astutely rigged the first hundred days with the popular ideas of the Contract that it's difficult to see a source of early GOP failures. As we go to press, the new Republican Congress is passing its "opening day checklist" of internal reforms that will help restore at least some trust in Congress. President Clinton, meanwhile, has endorsed the line-item veto, an end to unfunded mandates, and, in principle at least, the \$500-per-child tax credit. The balanced budget amendment will pass—though which version is still in question. Welfare reform may get messy, but the President will be hard pressed to veto a Republican version for being too "mean." Only term limits look threatened. These first hundred days seem destined for the history books.

Skeptics who live by the saw, "Republicans never blow an opportunity to blow an opportunity," must look at the days beyond the first hundred; it will be then, during the budget and appropriation process, that the GOP revolution will be won or lost. The Bush-Clinton years have been defined by budget deals, which relied on tax increases and phony "deficit reduction." There's no possibility of a reprise of the former, but Republicans must resist the latter—the tortured "cuts" that never make the trip from some budgetmeister's accounting pad into reality—and set the budget on a path toward the black by early next century. This means inflicting severe budgetary pain, which will be felt by GOP committee and subcommittee chairmen who have waited a political lifetime to get their chance at the trough. Resistance will be considerable, but the GOP task was eased when the Administration trotted out Cisneros & Co. to validate cuts, making slashers Dick Armev seem just a step away from Washington's newest consensus.

The usual Democratic tools all look rusty and decrepit. Class warfare, House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt's preferred vehicle, has sputtered at every Democratic attempt to jump-start it in recent years. Middle-class governmental dependency, the fuel that was supposed to make health-care reform go, loses its potency when people make the connection between government benefits and costs, a relationship now fixed in the public's consciousness. Intellectually there is simply no current alternative to the Republican vi-

sion of drastically reducing the Federal Government to foster a political order based on state and local governments and a civic culture based on personal responsibility. The most considerable force on the Democrats' side is simple inertia, never to be underestimated in Washington. But in a collision with a rapidly moving body—like the House Republican caucus—inertia loses, and that's just physics. Newt, meet Newton—for now, even he's on your side.

To Die for Chechnya?

IT'S DOUBTFUL that many outsiders—or most Russians—know much about the Chechen people, a fierce tribe of Caucasus mountain folk who have struggled for a century and a half (mostly in vain) against absorption into the Russian and Soviet empires. History's irony—and the Chechens' revenge—is that the war now going on turns out to be a truly fateful one for Russia and for all who are concerned about its future course. The incompetence of the Russian army's performance in Chechnya is, to a degree, reassuring. The open dissent within the military, and the bitter denunciations of the operation across a broad spectrum of Russian society, suggest a still-weak imperial power. (See Radek Sikorski, p. 54.) Boris Yeltsin's attempt to suppress the Chechen secession is, at this writing, very far from success. While advanced Russian fighter-bombers and tanks have wrought enormous devastation, the Chechens have put up a tenacious resistance and promise a guerrilla campaign from the mountains should their capital fall. Perhaps the net result will be a reinforcement of the "Afghanistan syndrome" in foreign and military policy—a chastened Russia reluctant to use force against its neighbors, or even its constituent parts.

Such a happy ending cannot be guaranteed, however. Yeltsin's resort to force in Chechnya came after a series of more successful Russian power plays against newly independent neighbors—Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan. And even though the use of troops in Chechnya has provoked an antiwar reaction at home, a failure there may in the end produce a nationalist backlash. After the loss of Eastern Europe, and in the midst of economic hardship, rampant crime and corruption, and political disarray, a fiasco in the Chechen war could be the last straw that discredits Yeltsin and triggers an authoritarian turn in Russian politics.

The Clinton Administration, as usual, got it wrong. At first, it cynically made excuses for Yeltsin, saying it was all an "internal affair" of Russia's. Then it called feebly for peaceful solutions. There is no sign yet that the Administration is concerned about the implications of this assertion of Russian military power, or that it is hedging against a possible new turn for the worse in

Russian policy. It seems as confused as Boris Yeltsin—and without alcohol as an excuse.

The Company He Kept

JAMES WOOLSEY'S resignation as Director of Central Intelligence reportedly came as a surprise to the White House, which is odd since the previous six months had been rife with leaked stories that put Mr. Woolsey high on the list of officials who lacked the President's confidence. Woolsey did the honorable and sensible thing, and packed his bags.

But it's a serious loss. James Woolsey was a solid realist on national-security issues—he had served Republican Presidents as well as Democratic—and intellectually he was one of the best people Mr. Clinton had. He understood that the world is still a dangerous place and that America needs the full arsenal of weapons to defend itself. A key cause of the President's reported loss of confidence in him was the 1993 congressional leak of a CIA psychological profile of Jean-Bertrand Aristide: its portrayal of Père Aristide as a murderous leftist did not sit well with a White House bent on restoring him to power as a democratic paragon. (Since it was the Democrats who rewrote the rules in the last couple of decades, requiring that Congress have access to intelligence reports, the squawking you heard was the sound of chickens coming home to roost.) Woolsey clearly stumbled in other ways, however. Aldrich Ames's espionage—which, of course, happened before Woolsey's watch—proved his undoing when he went easy on the CIA managers who had vetted and promoted Ames.

The key issue now is the CIA's future. Before the Republican takeover of Congress, the Agency had been threatened by a battery of wild schemes from Democratic legislators. Those schemes should die with the old Congress. As Mr. Woolsey liked to say, we slew the Soviet dragon but there are still a lot of poisonous snakes out there: proliferating Third World weapons of mass destruction, Islamic radicalism, economic challenges. A capable, modern intelligence service is our first line of defense.

The 5 Per Cent Solution

THE first item in the Contract with America is entitled the Fiscal Responsibility Act, and its first provision calls for "A balanced budget amendment to the Constitution with a tax limitation provision, which requires a three-fifths vote by both the House and Senate to raise taxes." The legislative vehicle for this proposed constitutional amendment will be the Barton-Tauzin bill, sponsored last year by

Joe Barton (R., Tex.) and Billy Tauzin (D., La.). They will be joined this year by Henry Hyde (R., Ill.), the new chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

In addition to the supermajority for tax hikes, the bill specifies a balanced budget by 2002, or five years after ratification by three-fourths of the states. Each year Congress must adopt, by roll-call vote, a statement of receipts and outlays that is in balance. This is far superior to the proposal co-sponsored by Senator Paul Simon (D., Ill.) and Representative Charles Stenholm (D., Tex.), which requires a three-fifths vote to raise the federal debt ceiling, but only a simple majority to raise taxes. This would skew the budget toward big tax increases, as happened in 1990 and 1993, the two most recent budget "deals of the century." As Barton recently put it, "It all boils down to whether to balance the budget by cutting spending or raising taxes. I believe the problem is too much spending, not insufficient revenues."

A quick look at the budget numbers supports his view. Federal spending as a share of the economy moved from 18.8 per cent in the Sixties, to 20.3 per cent in the Seventies, to 23.1 per cent in the Eighties, then leveled off at 22.8 per cent during the first four fiscal years of the Nineties. While spending has grown from less than 19 per cent to around 23 per cent, the tax-revenue share of the economy has hovered between 18 and 19 per cent. The difference between the two is what accounts for the deficit, which for the last 15 years has averaged 4 per cent of the economy. In other words, Barton is right: higher spending is the root cause of the deficit problem.

By the year 2002, the economy will approach \$10 trillion. A 4 per cent cut in federal spending forced by a tax-limiting balanced-budget rule would amount to roughly \$400 billion. That would represent about a 5 per cent reduction in a budget expected to be around \$2.2 trillion. Put another way, can Congress identify five cents of waste, fraud, abuse, or unnecessary programs, agencies, and department for every taxpayer dollar? You bet it can. And along the way, a reduced tax and regulatory burden will cause businesses, families, and the entire economy to prosper.

Samuel Lipman, R I P

WITH the untimely death of Samuel Lipman last month, conservative values in this country lost a brilliant and effective spokesman. As the publisher of *The New Criterion*, which he co-founded with the art critic Hilton Kramer in 1982, Sam Lipman helped to sustain one of the few American publications dedicated to the defense of high culture. As the music critic for *Commentary* (a post he held from 1975 until his death), he set a new standard of clarity and rigor for American writing about music.

And as a cultural commentator, he played a major role in shaping the attack on radicalism in the arts and the humanities in America.

Sam Lipman began his career as a concert pianist, making his debut in California at the age of 8. While music remained the animating passion of his professional life, Sam became increasingly concerned with the degradation of American culture. He wrote widely on cultural topics, not only for *The New Criterion* and *Commentary*, but also for *NATIONAL REVIEW*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Washington Times*, and other publications. In 1982, Sam was appointed by President Reagan to the advisory board for the National Endowment for the Arts. In this position, he was a staunch opponent of funding trendy, meretricious, and immoral art, epitomized by Andres Serrano's *Piss Christ* and Robert Mapplethorpe's homosexual, sado-masochistic photographs.

Sam's concern for the fate of high culture in mass democracy went far beyond questions of "arts policy." His thinking about these issues led him back to that earlier meditation on the fate of culture in democratic society, Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*. Even while battling the leukemia that would finally kill him, he managed to edit and contribute an essay to a new edition of the Victorian classic, which was published in 1994 by Yale University Press. It is a fitting monument to one who devoted himself to the great Arnoldian task of preserving the "best that has been thought and said."

Those of us who were privileged to know and work with him lost a wise and supportive colleague, a model of critical passion and integrity, a generous friend.

—ROGER KIMBALL

Keith Joseph, R I P

TO THE outward eye, Keith Joseph seemed no more than an exceptionally dashing exemplar of the conventional British Tory establishment. Educated at Harrow and Oxford, brought up in the highest Jewish tradition of public service, and inheriting a baronetcy at 25 from his father—a former Lord Mayor of London—he looked every polished inch the model paternalist. After a good war in which he was wounded and mentioned in despatches as an artillery officer, he joined the family building firm, simultaneously passing his bar exams and being elected a Fellow of All Souls. From such a privileged background, adoption for a safe Conservative seat at the age of 38 seemed a cinch, as perhaps did his first ministerial appointment in 1959. But prompt elevation to the cabinet as Minister of Housing in 1962 undoubtedly owed more to growing recognition of his talents, experience, and industry. Likewise, when the Conservatives under Edward Heath defeated Harold Wilson's Labour

Government in 1970, Keith Joseph slid easily into a senior post as Secretary of State for Social Services.

It was Heath's failure that provided the springboard for Joseph's subsequent fame. Having been elected on a radical anti-socialist prospectus, Heath was stampered by rising unemployment back to the postwar collectivist consensus of phony Keynesian expansion, industrial policy, open-handed subsidies, and tight-fisted incomes policy. Keith had first consulted Arthur Seldon and me at the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) in 1964, almost casually seeking guidance on free-market literature. It appeared to bear fruit in the program of reform on which the Conservatives had won the 1970 election. So when KJ (as he was increasingly known) courteously asked for an appointment on the morrow of Heath's collapse ten years later, he opened the conversation with a confession of abject failure. He would quite understand, he plainly hinted, if we did not wish to waste further time on such a sinner, however repentant.

But, displaying a fierce determination to do better, he confided a plan for a new "think tank" on the model of the IEA, but aiming to carry academic, educational teaching out into the political, campaigning arena. Here was the origin of the Center for Policy Studies, which spearheaded a reformulation of Conservative economic policy based on monetary discipline, trade-union reform, denationalization, lower taxes—what KJ was to trumpet up and down the land as the new "enterprise culture."

He was a perpetual student; a five-star intellectual rather than a man of decisive action. Therein lay his weakness as a minister: he relished debate and invited ceaseless seminars with senior civil-service advisors, who exploited his knack of seeing both sides of an issue to fend off uncomfortable reforms. But once his subtle intelligence had gripped the essentials of market analysis and producer competition in the service of consumer choice, within a stable (and thus moral) monetary framework, he did not shrink from such unpopular concomitants as inequality, unemployment, and bankruptcy on the way to prosperity.

Despite shrill abuse and occasional peltings, he reveled in confronting students with the paradox of political good intentions leading to economic disasters. Of all the letters of congratulation on my recent seventieth birthday, there is none I cherish more than Keith's brief note, written with difficulty shortly before his death following a second stroke in December at the age of 76. It illustrates his exceptional—and, for most observers, unsuspected—combination of teasing wit with moral earnestness, a down-to-earth grasp of essentials with an elevated spiritual compass, and an overriding modesty against expecting permanent benefits from any human endeavor.

You are still a young man and have time yet to make your mark! Meanwhile, I want to say how lucky the private sec-

tor has been to have you as an ambassador in the struggle between monopoly and competition these last decades.

You will know all the time that you were serving spiritual as well as material needs . . . If it is any comfort, it will all have to be done again each generation.

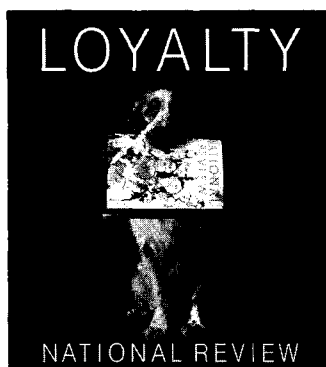
The miracle of Thatcherism came about after 1979 because a man of fearless thought was set in leading harness with a woman of fearless action. KJ shared with Margaret Thatcher a degree of moral and physical courage unequaled in British politics since Churchill in that other war. He was also the most scrupulously upright and engaging companion I have known. In short, a rare hero, one truly worthy of hero-worship.

—RALPH HARRIS

Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: Ed Capano

Bill: Here is a copy of one of the posters we're placing at railroad stations on all the commuter lines in the New York area. (We were able to print a larger, full-color version in the December 19 issue, p. 69). The purpose is to remind the New York ad execs—most of whom are train commuters—of *NR*'s main selling point to advertisers: the loyalty of its readers. Among other things, enjoy the picture.



Dear Ed: I think it's *terrific*, and our loyal readers will think so too. Best,

Bill

■ Dear Bill:

I read your obituary of Neil McCaffrey with great interest. You were right to call him "the most generous friend," and I was one of the lucky beneficiaries of his generosity: I visited him once a month during the last few years of his life to listen to his vast collection of jazz and swing records.

Neil and I met at one of Rich and Sue Vigilante's Christmas parties. He'd read somewhere that I liked jazz, and asked if I'd be interested in coming out to his house in Pelham and listening to old records. I immediately took him up on the offer. In the three years before he was hospitalized with cancer, we worked our way through the highlights of his 78 collection (in strict alphabetical order, needless to say). After he got home from the hospital, we started in on the LPs. I told him I insisted he stay alive long enough for us to go all the way to Bob Zurke. No such luck—we only made it as far as Jimmy Dorsey.



"Are you sure it's not out of your way?"

By the time Neil fell ill, what had started out as a purely musical relationship (we took politics and religion for granted) had become something more, and we grew closer as I watched him grapple bravely with the disease that finally got the best of him. The last time I went to Pelham, Neil was on oxygen, but he wasn't too weak to listen to music, and I told him I'd be back as often as he wanted. Instead of visiting him the following Friday, I went to his requiem Mass on Saturday. Since we were unable to have our final "record session," I had one on my own after I came home that afternoon. I played a dozen records by Bing Crosby, Benny Goodman, Red Norvo, Jo Stafford, Tommy Dorsey, Artie Shaw, and Al Bowlly, all of which I'd heard for the very first time at his house.

I smiled when I read about Neil's *New York Times* ad for the Nostalgia Book Club ("Kids under 35: This Ad Is Not for You"). I suppose I was the only young person Neil knew who cared deeply about the music of the Twenties, Thirties, and Forties. It wasn't just the music, of course. For Neil, the golden age of American popular song symbolized the civilized values of a lost era; for me, Neil came in time to embody that era and those values as completely as did the music we loved. He was a man of taste and courage, and I will miss him terribly.

Best always,
Terry [Teachout]

■ RIP, Robert Arthur McFadden II, husband of Mary, son of James P. and Faith. Age 34, the victim of cancer. In his very young days he worked at NATIONAL REVIEW and brought cheer to the office. The legion of friends of the McFaddens extend their prayerful sympathy.

—WFB

Have you been taught the "Liberal History Lesson?"

It's the lesson most of us have learned in history classes from elementary school to college:

- that our liberties stem from secular doctrines,
- that religious absolutes endanger freedom,
- that the Bill of Rights created a "wall of separation" between religion and our public institutions.

All of these teachings, states noted author and journalist M. Stanton Evans in *The Theme Is Freedom*, are refuted by history.

By providing an antidote to today's heated debates, *The Theme Is Freedom* corrects the "liberal history lesson." The role of the Religious

Arguing both conceptually and as a matter of historical fact, Evans shows that Western liberty and America's free institutions are products of our religious faith,

"Mr. Evans has written what is by far the most learned, the most carefully argued, and the most concisely written conservative defense of liberty and limited government to appear in years."

— Samuel Francis
Nationally Syndicated columnist

"Splendidly argued and intensely interesting, especially to modern conservatives and also to liberals who like to have their assumptions challenged."

— American Library Association Booklist

Right, school prayer, abortion, homosexuality, and other issues have become popular targets for arguing that politics has no place for religious principles. Evans insists that to think so is to ignore history.

and cannot survive without it. He teaches a lesson few children or grandchildren are learning in school—and one even fewer graduates will recall learning:

American liberty rests on age-old Judeo/Christian notions sprung from biblical roots. Ideas like the rule of law not men . . . government by consent of the governed . . . the social contract theory . . . no taxation without representation . . . all are based on religious precepts.

Evans explains their roots and, most important, their relevance today.

THE
THEME IS
FREEDOM
RELIGION, POLITICS
AND THE
AMERICAN TRADITION
M. STANTON EVANS

The Theme Is Freedom stands conventional wisdom on its head and lays the foundation for a new history lesson—one that will vigorously challenge the status quo. It is essential reading for students of all ages who want to explore the roots behind American freedom . . . the most successful form of government the world has ever seen . . . one that is truly of, for, and by the people.

"A remarkable work that combines erudition with clear thinking . . . As Evans has shown, the basic ideas of the American Republic all derive from the Bible and from medieval Christianity."

— Forrest McDonald
Distinguished Professor of History

M. Stanton Evans is chairman of the National Journalism Center in Washington, DC.

Don't miss the excerpt of *The Theme Is Freedom* on page 54.

YES! Please rush me ____ copies of *The Theme Is Freedom*. I have enclosed \$24.95 per book (plus \$4 shipping & handling per order).

- ☐ Check or money order payable to Regnery Publishing enclosed,
or
☐ Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ MC ☐ Amex

1-800-955-5493

**REGNERY
PUBLISHING, INC.**
An Eagle Publishing Company

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Phone _____
Card # _____ Exp. Date _____
Signature _____

NR123

Regnery Publishing • P.O. Box 39 • Federalburg, MD 21632

ON THE SCENE

Spring Surprise?

CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN



Bonnie Gardner

DUBLIN

I HAVE been watching the Dáil, the lower house of the Irish parliament, on and off for more than fifty years now, and I have never before seen in those precincts such an effusion of sweetness and light as accompanied the election as prime minister (Taoiseach) of John Bruton, head of the Fine Gael party. Partly this was due to the general relief at the ending of the parliamentary crisis that had been going on for more than a month—ever since the former ruling coalition broke up over the attorney general's protecting from extradition a priest wanted in Northern Ireland on charges of pedophilia. Even for the naturally acrimonious, a month of sustained confrontation was enough. Partly the tone was set, with magnanimity, by the loser: Bertie Ahern, the new leader of Fianna Fáil, who had been expected to be prime minister in a renewed Fianna Fáil-Labour coalition. John Bruton led

Mr. O'Brien is the author, most recently, of The Great Melody, a biography of Edmund Burke.

the opposition in exposing the anomalies and contradictions of the relations between Fianna Fáil and Labour, and this contributed mightily to wrecking the attempt at renewing that coalition—and thus to dashing Bertie Ahern's personal hopes.

In the circumstances Mr. Ahern might have been expected to be bitter, but if he is he didn't let it show. In an exceptionally dignified, generous, and sometimes gently humorous speech, he not merely wished his successful rival well, in a convincing way, but also paid tribute to his personal qualities. And those qualities are indeed high among the reasons why his election by the Dáil was welcomed personally by members from all the parties represented there.

The scene was televised and watched by large audiences throughout Ireland. Many of those who watched must have been a bit puzzled by what they saw. As Norah Owen, deputy leader of Fine Gael, expressed it in her speech putting John Bruton in nomination for prime minister, he "is not a media-driven politician." The Irish media don't like him and have consistently underestimated him. His immediate predecessor as leader of Fine Gael, Garret Fitzgerald, had a naturally sunny personality and cultivated media people to good effect. In both these respects John Bruton is less like Garret than like Garret's predecessor, Liam Cosgrave, also a *bête noire* of the Irish media. Cosgrave always sounded like a man who felt it would be extremely sinful to give the public what it wants. Bruton is apt to sound and look the same way, especially on television. It must, therefore, have come as a surprise to the television audience to witness the esteem and affection in which John Bruton is held in the world of parliamentary politics, as distinct (usually) from

the politics of the media. Bruton's parliamentary colleagues know from personal experience, over years, that he is a person whose word is his bond. And they also know that equation cannot be taken for granted in politics.

The new government has a lot going for it, quite apart from the apparently auspicious euphoria after the election. The Irish economy is in better shape than it has been for thirty years and still improving. The coalition partners are likely to show adequate respect for one another's susceptibilities, since the grisly recent fate of the Fianna Fáil-Labour coalition is an adequate warning of what happens when such respect is denied, as it was by former Taoiseach Albert Reynolds. Some commentators are stressing the ideological gap they think will exist between Fine Gael and its left-wing partners, Labour and the Democratic Left. But a program of government has been agreed among the three parties that should be adequate for the next two years, and this is all that is required. And Labour and the Democratic Left are quite unlikely in practice to gang up against Fine Gael. The two left-wing parties will, after all, be contending against each other in the next general election for a significant but limited electoral resource: left-wing votes. Fine Gael will not be competing in that market: Fine Gael will be competing with Fianna Fáil, and with realistic hopes of gaining some ground.

AS FAR as Anglo-Irish relations are concerned, John Major will find the new government as easy to deal with as its predecessor. Even a bit easier. All three of the new governmental partners are less disinclined than Fianna Fáil to prepare the way for the removal of the territorial claim contained in Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution. All three are more inclined to give serious consideration to Unionist positions than any coalition with Fianna Fáil in it would ever be.

Unfortunately, this does not mean that what is called "the peace process" is likely to prosper during 1995. There are two distinct negotiations, often loosely regarded as making up one peace process. There are the talks between the Dublin and London governments, based on the Downing Street Declaration. These will probably go smoothly enough under the new Dub-

MID-WINTER SALE. SAVE \$50. THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY LIMITED-EDITION OFFICIAL A-2 FLYING JACKET

Own the jacket worn by our
World War II flying heroes—
now with a special
commemorative lining!



ACT NOW! A piece of American History is on sale!

With daring, determination and extraordinary courage, the gallant pilots of the U.S. Army Air Corps took to the skies during World War II to defend freedom. When our young heroes climbed into their cockpits, they wore the legendary A-2 Leather Flying Jacket. The A-2 was light weight and comfortable, yet "tough as nails" and identified its wearer as one of an elite breed of fighting men.

Now, in honor of victory, you can acquire *The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket* at \$50 off the regular price.

Genuine Military Issue. Not a Commercial Reproduction.

Cooper Sportswear was an original supplier of A-2 jackets during World War II and today still produces official military issue A-2's for the Air Force. Cooper will produce *The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket* only until the end of the 50th anniversary year of World War II victory. Each is distinguished by a specially commissioned pictorial map lining. You will receive a Certificate of Authenticity stating that yours is a limited-edition A-2. **Not a reproduction and not a look-alike copy—this is the genuine article!** Available exclusively from Willabee & Ward.

Proudly Made in the U.S.A. to U.S. Air Force Specifications.

The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket is made in the U.S.A., using material and production methods specified by the U.S. Air Force. Premium goatskin assures ruggedness and great looks. Official military issue details include knitted cuffs and waistband, regulation snap-down collar, shoulder epaulets, and roomy snap-close pockets.



Save \$50 Off Regular Price. Convenient Monthly Installments.

You can own this jacket for just \$209 (plus \$9.50 shipping and handling) payable in five convenient monthly credit card installments of \$43.70. Satisfaction is guaranteed. You can return the jacket in original condition within 30 days for exchange or refund. Available in even sizes 34-52 regular and long. Call about larger sizes (to 60) for \$50 more. (For best fit, order one size larger than your usual jacket size.) Questions about sizing? Call—we'll fit you over the phone. Quantities are limited, so call now! Phone orders normally shipped next business day.

SALE!
ONLY \$209

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 781-1017

© 1994 MBI

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857



Satisfaction
Guaranteed.

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 781-1017

Please send me _____ **50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket(s).**

Size(s) (Even sizes 34-52): _____ ☐ Reg. ☐ Long
For each jacket, charge 5 monthly installments of \$43.70* to my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____
(Please print clearly.)

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Signature _____

(All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for \$209, plus \$9.50 shipping/handling, a total of \$218.50* for each jacket.

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.
Higher shipping/handling outside U.S.

lin government, as under its predecessor, and will result in some document, a "Framework for Peace." But it is the other set of negotiations—between the British authorities and Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing—that is much more likely to determine whether progress can be made from the present uneasy truce toward a real and lasting peace. And the prospects there look bleak as 1995 begins.

The real threat to what is called the peace process has almost nothing to do with whatever group of political parties forms the government in Dublin. The real threat—which will be about the same under the new government as it would have been under its predecessor—comes from the yawning gap between the expectations of Sinn Fein-IRA on the one hand and the British government on the other. Sinn Fein-IRA expects British capitulation, though it might accept this in installments. The Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness, on the eve of negotiations with British officials last month, declared: "We are Irish republicans, and we enter any talks with the clear aim of ending British jurisdiction in the Six Counties." McGuinness, Gerry Adams, and the other top Sinn Fein spokesmen have all stated unequivocally that until that "clear aim" is realized, Sinn Fein will not even ask the IRA to decommission any part of its weaponry.

Mr. Major, on the other hand, declared last week, after the end of the Northern Ireland investment talks, that "huge progress must be made toward the destruction of IRA arms and explosives before talks with Sinn Fein could move from an exploratory to a formal basis." Not much room for compromise there.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary estimates there is a 60 to 40 per cent chance that the IRA ceasefire will hold until Easter. Easter has been an ominous period in the Republican liturgical-political-military year since 1916. Shortly before Easter, an IRA convention will consider the results of the ceasefire. Some of these results are impressive, in terms of political and propaganda gains for Sinn Fein, mainly in the Republic and in the United States. But these will weigh very little, in the judgment of Republican militants, compared with failure to make progress in the direction of Sinn Fein-IRA's clear aim.

I will not prejudice the outcome of that IRA conference. But it is clear that in the run-up to that conference the IRA leadership, even if it still wants the ceasefire to hold, will be under pressure to show itself more militant through "the unarmed strategy" of mass demonstrations in Northern Ireland and in other ways. The cry of "peace process in danger" will be heard, and both the British and Irish governments are likely to be attacked by Sinn Fein, probably with considerable backing from Fianna Fáil.

Sinn Fein-IRA does not care for any of the parties now in power. It distrusted the Labour party leader, Dick Spring, in the outgoing coalition and will distrust him even more in the new one. Fine Gael is, in the eyes of Sinn Fein-IRA, the old enemy, "the Free Staters" or "Blueshirts," the party of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. The Democratic Left is the heir of the Worker's Party, which is itself the heir

of the "Official" Sinn Fein-IRA, the old Marxist IRA leadership from which the Catholic-nationalist Provisionals broke away in 1969-70. The DLs have broken with their paramilitary past, but for the Provos they remain "the stickies," an enemy force.

The new Dublin government can expect determined political assaults from Sinn Fein-IRA, probably early next year. It should be able to weather the storm: its internal cohesion, in relation to this range of issues, is bound to be good, since Sinn Fein-IRA hates all the coalition partners, for different reasons (although there are one or two Sinn Fein fellow-travelers in Labour). Fortunately, Sinn Fein itself has no seats in the Dáil.

The British and Irish governments need to prepare to tighten, not relax, security in the coming year. Whatever the IRA convention may bring, the IRA is certain to be in a dangerous mood as Easter approaches. □

Feeling Bad

ANTHONY LEJEUNE



are already in power, and the only foreseeable alternative, the Labour Party, has actually been modeling itself on the Clinton Democrats. Disillusionment with politicians in general, indeed with the whole system, is a reasonable response.

No election is pending in Britain soon. Prime Minister John Major, whose personal clinging to office makes limpets look feeble, has let it be known that, unless his administration, eroded by death and dissension, becomes unsustainable, he will carry on until the last possible minute—just over two years from now.

The Conservatives are currently more unpopular than at any other time since public opinion polls began; the Labour Party has a huge lead. And yet Mr. Major and his close colleagues remain quite unrepentant and uncomprehending. They still believe that the genuine improvement in Britain's economy, manifested in a good rate of growth and relatively low inflation—achievements for which they give themselves total credit—will eventually bring its electoral reward. That there is no "feel good" factor yet they attribute to the public's near-sighted-

LONDON
THE BRITISH are in a dangerous mood—pessimistic, angry, frustrated. Their concerns are very much like those dramatically demonstrated by American voters in November. But there is a vital difference. In Britain the Republicans—in the shape of the Conservative Party—

Mr. Lejeune is NR's longtime London correspondent.

Is Charles Murray now "the most dangerous conservative?"

The New York Times is worried:
"has he gone too far?"

Intelligence and Class Structure
in American Life

How to get
this massive
847-page,
\$30 volume

FREE



Why? Because Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein prove something threatening to Politically Correct Liberalism:

Intelligence – not environment, poverty or education – is at the root of our worst social problems. And intelligence differs among identifiable groups in society.

Up to \$30 in
stores – yours

FREE

No, the authors do not conclude that racial differences in IQ are necessarily genetic. But they do show that IQ is the crucial factor in determining one's status in life, and must therefore be central to social policy. Years of concealing this hard fact have yielded massive social problems – built on a lie. And while specific remedies may be debatable, "there is no major domestic issue for which the news we bring is irrelevant."

- IQ and crime ... illegitimacy ... divorce ... welfare ... unemployment
- Group IQ averages and educational achievement compared: whites, blacks, Asians, Latinos, Jews, males, females
- Reality vs. hype: the failure of Head Start and other preschool programs to raise IQ and academic performance
- How an expanding federal government harms those with low IQs. What society can do – and once did – to help the less intelligent
- Myth: IQ tests are culturally and racially biased. Their uncanny ability to predict academic achievement and job performance, based on decades of evidence
- How "heritable" is IQ? The contribution of environment and education
- Do environment and history account for the poor performance of blacks in American society?
- How affirmative action actually hinders black achievement
- The emerging white underclass: low intelligence, low morals, low income – and a social time bomb
- The best preschool program for maximizing IQ: loving parents, healthy families. Reasons
- The coming "custodial state": a chilling picture of a probable future

**Cause of the breakdown: declining morals.
Cure: return to the old ways**

The conclusion is inescapable: traditional morals – reinforced in law, popular culture and social policy – must guide the kind of decisions that make sense for all people, whatever their IQs. The alternative is a new, horrible brand of class warfare. And, maybe, complete social breakdown.

"Inflammatory. Some will say it should have been left unpublished. Others will praise the courage of the authors. It will infuriate many. It will persuade others. In my personal view the book, right or wrong, will influence the agenda for public policy debates for years to come." – J.W. Michaels, Editor, FORBES.

How The Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates – all of interest to conservatives. * If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing: it will come automatically. * If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. * The majority of Club books are offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. * As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. * If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. * Good service. No computers! * The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. * Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

33 Oakland Avenue • Harrison NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send, free and postpaid, the \$30 **BELL CURVE** by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club bargain prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-247

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

ness, the remedy for which is that the government should "get its message across" more effectively.

Mr. Major, therefore, despite a catastrophic special election shortly before Christmas and a humiliating reverse in Parliament, has not shown any of President Clinton's readiness to bend with the wind. The party leaders and managers glow with indignation if anybody suggests that they've bungled. The truth is that a spectator hardly needs to take a view on any of the particular issues in order to see that a government which has landed itself amid such a political shambles must have got something rather seriously wrong.

Over a controversial, but not crucial, bill to pour extra quantities of British taxpayers' money into the bottomless pit of "Europe"—what was originally the Common Market, and then became the European Economic Community, and then simply the European Community, and is now the European Union (without so much as a rubber stamp from the electorate)—Mr. Major threatened, if he were defeated, to pull down the pillars of the temple by calling an immediate general election, in which his own party would, as he and everyone else knew, be wiped out. He extorted from each member of the cabinet individually a pledge of support for this suicide pact. The pretext was that an administration which loses its power to tax and spend cannot continue in office; a constitutional theory which was, of course, never intended to cover this kind of situation. Mr. Major also said that he had given his word to the Europeans—cause enough, perhaps, if his promise could not be kept, for him to resign but scarcely for him to hand the country over to the socialists.

Faced with an imminent threat of *Götterdämmerung*, most of the rebels came into line. Eight Conservative backbenchers, however, did not, and were promptly expelled from the parliamentary party. A ninth, Sir Richard Body (in whose presence, John Major once said, he could hear "the flapping of men in white coats," but who is actually as sane and honorable a politician as you could wish to meet), voluntarily joined them in exile.

The administration preened itself on having shown the smack of firm government. Less firm was its grasp of arithmetic. By expelling nine members of the party Mr. Major's government

lost its formal majority in the House of Commons. The Conservative Party has never before in living memory expelled an MP on ideological grounds—not over Munich, not over Suez, not over Thatcherism. Never before has a British government of any complexion gratuitously thrown away its own majority.

The rebel nine, thus freed from the chains of discipline and aware that their local Conservative Associations, despite fearsome threats, largely support them, now rejoice in their power. They have already helped to defeat a proposal by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to increase the tax on household fuel. This defeat, since it involved another taxing and spending matter, might surely have been cause for resignation. But instead, notwithstanding an assurance from the chairman of the party that they would not simply replace one unpopular tax with another, the chancellor increased the existing onerous taxes on tobacco, alcohol, and gasoline.

The result of these shenanigans has been great bitterness within the party. So inexplicable does the government's behavior seem that a theory has been floated according to which Mr. Major deliberately provoked the rebels in order to disqualify those most likely to mount a challenge to his leadership. The potential for similar crises over the next few months would appear limitless.

Public distaste for such squabbling has become the government's latest excuse for its unpopularity. The truth is, however, that internal divisions, though unhelpful, are a minor element. The feel-good factor is missing because

most people have nothing to feel good about. Almost everybody is paying higher taxes than when this government was elected—on a promise to hold taxation down; an export-led recovery, although economically virtuous, makes no one but exporters feel good; and low inflation, while desired in theory, holds insufficient positive appeal to voters who had grown accustomed to constantly inflating paychecks. The government, for all its tough talk about spending cuts, still unashamedly spends nearly half the entire national income, and, despite a declared campaign against over-regulation, continues to pour out new regulations.

Underlying everything is the issue of Europe. Just suppose that an American President had signed, not a mere trading agreement with the other nations of North America or the Pacific Rim, but a treaty leading inevitably toward full political union! There is talk in Britain, belatedly, about a referendum, but the question posed and the pre-referendum campaign would almost certainly be rigged to secure the right (from the government's point of view) answer. The one strong card—possibly a winning one—that the Conservative Party could play at the next election would be to take a clear anti-European line, but this is rendered impossible by the Europhiles in its own senior ranks.

When you consider that the principal opposition parties are even more Europhile than the government, more openly inclined to high taxation, more instinctively given to regulating everything, can you wonder that the British don't feel good? □

Breaking the Code

BRIAN DOHERTY

IRVINE, CALIFORNIA
AROUND the curve of a typical residential cul-de-sac in the largely planned city of Irvine, California, lies something redolent of wilder days: a besieged castle.

The castle is the handiwork of Haym Ganish, a former Israeli who moved his family to Irvine's Kron Street in 1978. For the last eleven years, the

Mr. Doherty is assistant editor at Reason.

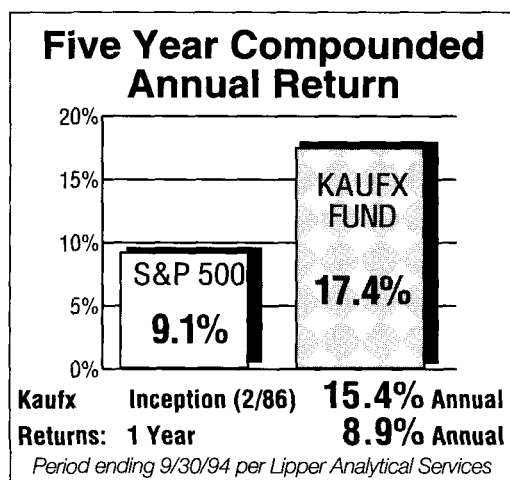
Ganishes have been defending their dream house against assaults by city hall and their neighbors. They are caught between two opposing tendencies in the American spirit: the vision of a country of free landholders and the modern desire for predictable, planned communities.

"I don't know why they did this," Mr. Ganish says in the kitchen of the unfinished castle, built over and around the one-story house that came with the

#1 Performing Fund Since the Market Low of 1987

—per Mutual Fund Forecaster*

The Kaufmann Fund **A Small Company Growth Fund**



Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch,
Portfolio co-managers with over 60 years
of combined Wall Street experience

**More than twice the average total
annual return of all open-end funds**
(5-year period ending 9/30/94. Out of 2,326 equity funds, per Lipper Analytical Services)

Morningstar 5 Star (★★★★★) Rating**
(Out of 1,877 equity funds as of 9/30/94)

For information call:

1-800-666-9233



* Out of 637 open-end equity funds, for the period of 12/4/87-9/30/94.

**Morningstar ratings are subject to change every month and are calculated from the funds' three- and five-year average annual returns with appropriate sales charge adjustments and a risk factor that reflects performance relative to three-month Treasury bill monthly returns. Ten percent of the funds in an asset class receive five stars.

Total returns for periods ending September 30, 1994 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. For more information including charges and expenses, please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost.

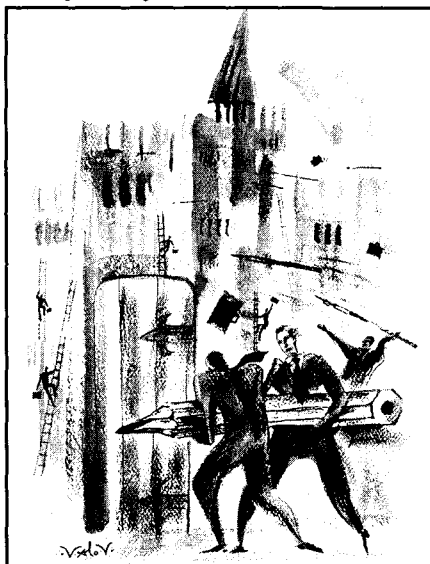
THE KAUFMANN FUND, INC.
140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2266

lot. "I don't know why so much hate was involved." The city's attitude, he says, is, "You're not allowed to do this, you're not allowed to do that, you're not allowed to do anything.' You're at their mercy."

So far as the city is concerned, the Ganishes have been asking for trouble by planning a grandiose house and taking more than a decade to finish it. "People try to paint this story as the big, bad city versus the Ganishes," says Patrick Munoz, one of the city's attorneys. "That's just not true. They've done whatever the heck they've wanted to for years. Their attitude is, 'The city can't do anything to make us build the house. Up yours.'"

As a result of a November court settlement involving various civil and criminal charges against Mr. Ganish and his wife, Fern—all stemming from redesign work on the house—he has a year to complete the project to the city's satisfaction or risk seeing his handiwork destroyed. In the city's view, that would be the abatement of a public nuisance. "This is not like weeds, that you can just come in here and 'abate the nuisance,'" says Fern Ganish. "This is our home."

Although it stands out among the surrounding collection of mostly one-story, tasteful A-frames with gabled or Spanish-tiled roofs, the Kron Castle is hardly an eyesore. It is three stories



Konstantin Valev

high, including a large attic, with turrets to the left and right; the façade is jagged grey rock. Each immediate neighbor's yard is bordered by tall trees that block direct sight of the structure, and it sits at the curve into a cul-de-sac road, so it's visible only if

you're standing right in front of it. The exterior is the most interesting and attractive on the block, though Mr. Munoz insists that the house became presentable only recently and that the city has received many complaints from neighbors during the last decade.

The interior is definitely unfinished, but its multileveled airiness holds the promise of a roomy, comfortable home. It certainly doesn't seem like the "absolute squalor" that Mr. Munoz describes. "It looked like an abandoned construction site, [with] hundreds of building-code violations," he says. "If someone rubbed up against certain wires, they'd die immediately."

Most of us would not want to live under the conditions that the Ganishes are willing to tolerate. Still, it's *their* home. Mr. Munoz doesn't buy that way of thinking. "It's a miracle they're alive," he says. "It's a death trap. It's just not a safe place. We don't want to have to put them out on the streets, but this is what we have to do to protect the community and protect them from themselves."

The Ganishes think they are no threat to the community and insist that they require no protection from themselves. Asking Mr. Ganish to relate the story of his conflicts with Irvine summons a torrent of complaints in loud, heavily accented English. The Ganishes describe years of surveillance by city inspectors at all hours, vandalism to their car and property, mockery and shunning of their children, coerced agreements to finish the house on schedules set by the city, a flurry of traffic tickets leading to a lost driver's license. Their open-ended building permits were given retroactive deadlines by a new law passed in response to neighbors' complaints. Last summer police raided their home and held the Ganishes captive in their kitchen for hours while the house was scavenged for building-code violations. (Violations of the Uniform Building Code are misdemeanors in Irvine.) The Ganishes say the problems "discovered" during the raid had been observed repeatedly by inspectors. Among other things, the Ganishes were hit with eight criminal counts for living in their own home, since the occupancy permit for the building had been revoked.

Mr. Munoz defends the retroactive deadline on the project, arguing that
(Continues on page 76)

Located on Capitol Hill and ideal for your every traveling need, the *Phoenix Park Hotel* provides you not only with outstanding accommodations, but courteous, personalized service, complimentary newspapers, nightly turndown and concierge service, plus two world-famous restaurants to suit your fun and quiet moods.

From the authentic Irish entertainment nightly to the cold pint of Guinness, the *Dubliner Pub* is the preferred gathering place for lunch and dinner seven days a week and has been serving the Hill for almost 16 years.

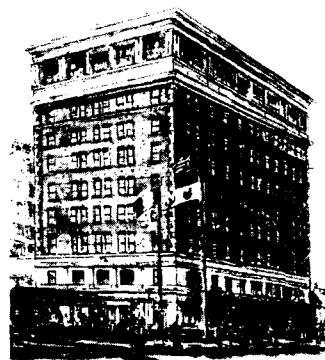
The *Powerscourt* is America's most elegant Irish restaurant, serving the finest European and American culinary offerings. Our native-born chefs have brought from Ireland their version of the classic dishes which are a favorite on the *Hill*.

Irish Tradition is Worth Experiencing.

Stay with us. Meet with us. Dine with us.
We guarantee enjoyment!

Phoenix Park Hotel

The #1 Choice on
The Hill



520 North Capitol Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 638-6900 (800) 824-5419

Those Were The Days

Now You Can Recapture Those Days Forever!

The hilarious Emmy® Award winning TV show that changed the face of television comedy forever now can be yours to enjoy again and again. Presenting the special Collector's Edition video series of ALL IN THE FAMILY – only from Columbia House Video Library!

ALL IN THE FAMILY
The Collector's Edition –
The perfect addition to your
family's video library.

You'll roar with laughter as you watch Archie rebel against a world that is leaving him behind! Each episode of ALL IN THE FAMILY-The Collector's Edition is packed with Archie's irreverent humor, his warped political debates and most of all, his special love for Edith, Gloria, his "Little Girl," and even "Meathead" Mike. And you can get the Collector's Edition only from Columbia House Video Library—return the order form today.

Get the first video absolutely risk free for only \$4.95 (plus shipping & handling)

- Four episodes on every video
- Specially packaged Collector's Edition not available in stores
- Future videos in series sent every 4-6 weeks
- Risk-free, ten day examination every time
- Keep only the videos you want for just \$19.95 each + shipping & handling
- No minimum to buy, no risk, cancel at any time

MAIL TODAY!

For faster service, use your credit card and call,
TOLL-FREE 1-800-536-7766 Dept. T98

**Columbia House Video Library, Dept. T98,
P.O. Box 1112 Terre Haute, IN 47811**

☐ **YES!** Send me my first 4-episode videocassette for just \$4.95 plus \$2.45 shipping and handling and enter my subscription to **ALL IN THE FAMILY: THE COLLECTOR'S EDITION**. Also send me future 4-episode videocassettes in the series under the terms described in this announcement. If I do not choose to keep my introductory shipment, I will return it within 10 days for a full refund or credit to my charge account with no further obligation.

Check method of payment

☐ My check is enclosed for \$4.95 plus \$2.45 shipping and handling (total is \$7.40) plus applicable sales tax made payable to Columbia House Video Library. **ASL**

Charge this and any future purchases to:

☐ AMEX ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Diners Club ☐ Discover **ASK**

Acct. No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Phone Number () _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt# _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

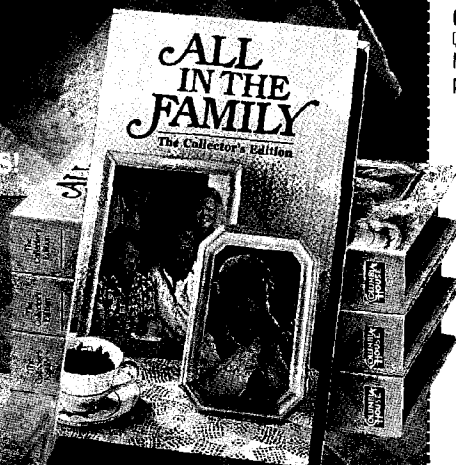
Note: All subscriptions subject to review. Columbia House Video Library reserves the right to reject or cancel any subscription. Canadian residents will be serviced from Toronto. Offer may vary. **Applicable sales tax added to all orders.**

© 1994, The Columbia House Company.



NOT AVAILABLE IN STORES!

Get the first
video for
only \$4.95



RANDOM WALK



THE investment debacle in Orange County, California, lingers, but all is not gloomy in the Golden State. Governor Pete Wilson's huge economy-flattening tax increases of a few years ago may soon be reversed. A secret fiscal-policy task force chaired by George Bush's chief economist, Michael Boskin, with members including Nobelist Gary Becker and Reagan advisors George Shultz, Martin Anderson, Annelise Anderson, and John Cogan, has recommended a three-year across-the-board 15 per cent in marginal tax-rate cuts for personal and business income.

Commissioned by Wilson a year ago, the group started the exercise by assuming a modest 5.9 per cent growth rate for nominal personal income during the next five years (lower than the 9 per cent rate forecast by UCLA). This yielded \$37.4 billion in additional tax revenues during the period. Then the panel examined major spending commitments for education, Medicaid, debt service, and other discretionary items, and found sufficient resources to allow for 5 per cent yearly tax-cut installments beginning in October 1995.

The Boskin group rejected a tax-credit approach in favor of marginal-rate relief, believing the incentive effects of higher after-tax returns on work and investment are more powerful. "We believe California's high tax rates are one of the primary reasons that California's competitive position has been eroding," the report said. Furthermore, the group expects the tax cuts to force a continued spending freeze. Indeed, with California's top income-tax rate projected to fall from the current 11 per cent to 9.3 per cent (still very high by national standards), the fiscal panel hopes better growth and even lower spending will allow for deeper tax cuts in the future.

Governor Wilson has been "supportive" of the plan, but insiders believe he

will not make a final decision until his January 9 State of the State speech. It would represent a big turnaround for the governor. It would also represent a return to the supply side by prodigal son Michael Boskin, a Reagan supporter in 1980 who later became an architect of President Bush's disastrous 1990 tax hike. "Why not?" chuckled panelist Martin Anderson. "We are all tax cutters now."

■ In one fell swoop, the new government of Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo has destroyed six years of economic progress and credibility, and the footprints of the International Monetary Fund are all over the place. To remedy a \$30-billion trade deficit, the Mexican peso was devalued by 35 per cent in the week before Christmas, despite official pledges to maintain a steady currency. The Mexican stock market dropped 23 per cent in peso terms, 58 per cent in dollar terms. The bellwether stock Telmex nosedived 40 per cent.

Overnight interbank interest rates in Mexico City rose to 30 per cent. In a futile attempt to "smooth" currency-market turbulence, peso purchases by the government have dropped foreign-exchange dollar-reserve holdings to a

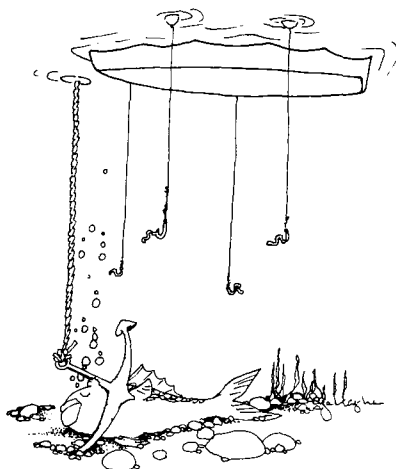
rumored \$12-billion level, from \$30 billion only a few months ago. Adding insult to injury, Zedillo has imposed wage and price controls throughout the economy and raised taxes on autos and a variety of other consumer goods.

This is classic IMF poison, engineered this time by MIT economists Rudigar Dornbusch and Stanley Fischer. Fischer, now the deputy executive director of the IMF, described the policy U-turn as "an appropriate response . . . that would help reinforce the 1994 economic recovery." A devalued currency to promote exports, higher taxes to slow domestic growth, and price controls to stop inflation: exactly the policy mix of the 1970s and early 1980s that nearly destroyed the economies of countries such as Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, creating a global debt crisis along the way. What's more, the peso collapse substantially changes the terms of trade of the recently signed NAFTA agreement, making Mexican exports cheaper and U.S. exports more expensive.

In the past year the Mexican economy grew at roughly 4 per cent while inflation dropped below 7 per cent. If it wasn't broke, why fix it? While far from perfect, free-market policies under Zedillo's predecessor, Carlos Salinas, achieved a budget surplus through large-scale privatization, and the lowest inflation rate in twenty years from a relatively steady and strong peso. Some progress was made on tax reform, though small businesses remained overtaxed and unable to get sufficient bank credit. Nonetheless, after 1986 the Mexican economy was clearly on the road to recovery. In response, international investment confidently flowed into Mexico to finance domestic growth. (In truth, with inflation falling and the economy rising, the trade deficit represented economic success, not failure.)

All this has now changed. The Smith Barney brokerage firm has issued a sell signal for all Mexican stocks, while Merrill Lynch has forbidden its brokers to solicit any business on behalf of Mexico. Global investment capital will dry up. Nations undergoing economic reform, such as Brazil and Argentina, are caught in the backwash, their stock markets plummeting. When Mexico sneezes, the rest of Latin America frequently catches cold. Antibiotics from the IMF will make the patient worse.

—GEKKO





Books that sparked a revolution, in handsome leather-bound editions you'll be proud to own.

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*

Yours for just
\$9.95

from **The Classics of Liberty**

Liberty. Justice. Equality. Religious tolerance. The pursuit of happiness. These radical ideas are the basis for some of the most important books in the history of our country.

Now you can own Thomas Paine's immortal works, *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*, in a beautiful leather-bound edition for just \$9.95 as your introduction to The Classics of Liberty Library.

Books of the Highest Quality

The Classics of Liberty Library brings you exquisite editions of the landmark volumes that are the basis for the freedoms we enjoy today. Like every volume in the series, *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man* is printed on acid-free, gilt-edged paper, as befits a volume made to last for generations. The book is quarter-bound in genuine top-grain leather, embossed in an

*"The cause of
America is, in great
measure, the
cause of all mankind."*

— Thomas Paine

original gold design, with raised hubs on its spine. In addition, the handsome marbled endleaves add color to each volume. A silk bookmark adds a final, elegant touch to these outstanding examples of old-world craftsmanship.

Each Classics of Liberty volume — selected by our Editorial Advisory Board — is a faithful reproduction of the finest available original editions. Nothing is altered or omitted. The size, typography, and any illustrations are identical to the original.

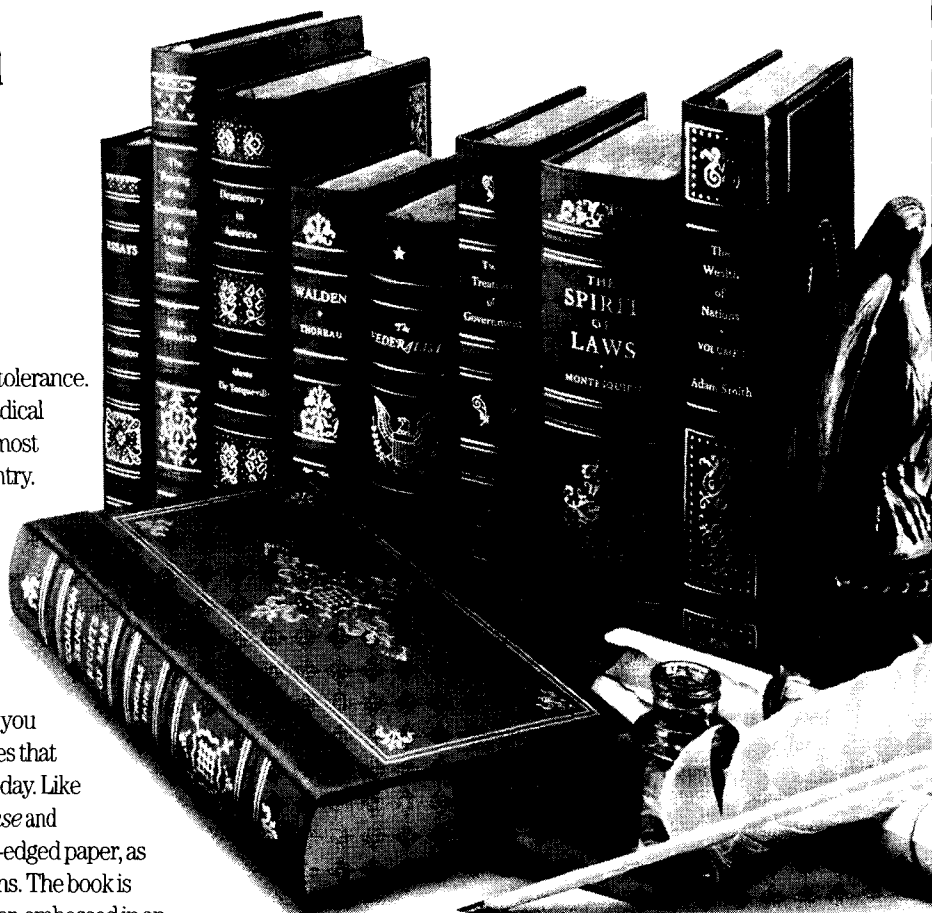
Future Volumes

After receiving *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*, you'll have the opportunity — but not the obligation — to purchase precise reproductions of the most significant books on democratic thought and theory ever written. You'll find heirloom-quality editions of such classics as Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* and Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.

Unconditional Guarantee

The Classics of Liberty guarantees to repurchase any volume in the Library within one year of purchase for its original price, provided the volume is in good condition.

There is no minimum number of books to buy, and you may cancel at any time. Send no money now. Just complete and return the coupon today to take advantage of this no-risk offer.



The Classics of Liberty Division of Gryphon Editions
3000 Cindel Drive, Delran NJ 08370-0001

Yes, please enroll me as a member in The Classics of Liberty, and send my first volume, *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*. If I am completely satisfied, I need do nothing more; you will bill me at the special introductory price of \$9.95, plus shipping and handling. I understand I will then have the periodic opportunity, but not the obligation, to purchase additional leather-bound editions at the guaranteed price of \$39.50 each, plus shipping and handling, published at the rate of approximately seven books per year. There is no minimum number of books I must buy. I may return any volume that I do not want and you will pay the return postage. And of course, I may cancel my membership at any time simply by notifying you.

Name _____

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____

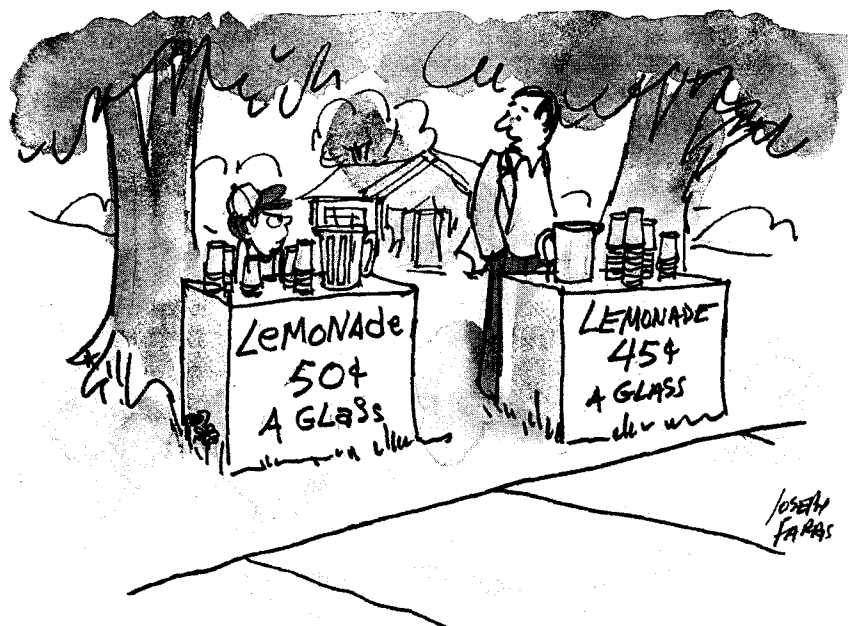
(Offer good in Continental U.S. and Canada only. Above prices quoted and payment accepted in U.S. dollars.) **National Review 1/95 B-5S1**

help

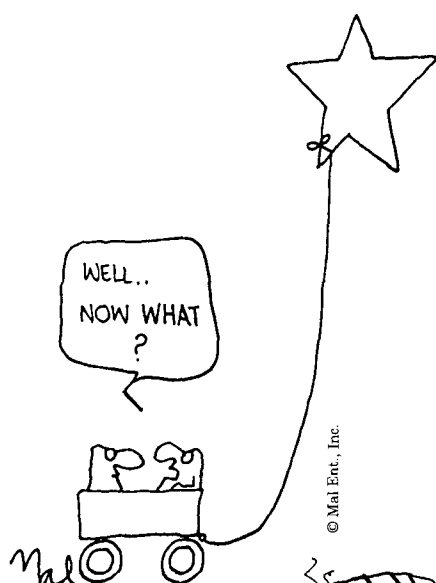
Happy New Year

This year, the pols will understand
That wets who wade the Rio Grande,
As well as airport flotsam who
Say "Hi" but never "Toodle-oo,"
Are wearing out the welcome mat,
A consequence surpassing GATT,
Term limits, welfare, crime, and prayer,
So this is just to say, Beware.

W. H. VON DREELE



"Sorry, kid, but I've been laid off for seven months."



© Mal Ent., Inc.

DAVE CARPENTER...



"Kiss me and I'll turn into a credit card."

"The cat? No. My wife during football season."

Wright The Renaissance
District - Bulletin



MARLEY
Chicago
Tribune





Psycho Killer, Qu'est-ce que c'est?

THE FACE OF EVIL

Jeffrey Dahmer was not the first nor the last of his kind. Indeed, serial murderers are claiming more victims than ever before. But researchers find that studying these criminals can help thwart them.

EUGENE H. METHVIN

ON March 14, 1992, at a peaceful country lake between Canton and Zanesville, Ohio, a 49-year-old man was fishing, when he was shot dead by a high-powered Swedish Mauser rifle.

Six detectives spent a week investigating the crime and came up clueless. Then a deputy sheriff remembered a random shooting that had occurred three years before in a neighboring county. A man had been shot as he walked or jogged near his rural home. The police soon found another case: James Paxton, 21, killed 50 miles away on November 10, 1990, by three shots from a .30-caliber rifle as he stalked deer with a crossbow.

Paxton's murder had never been solved. But six days before the first anniversary of his death, a letter had arrived at the *Martin's Ferry Times Leader* from the murderer, who proved he was no hoaxer by identifying the murder weapon and offering other details known only to the killer and the police. "Paxton was killed because of an irresistible compulsion that has taken over my life," the killer wrote. "I knew when I left my house that day that someone would die. . . . This compulsion started with just thoughts about murder and progressed from thoughts to action. I've thought about getting professional help but how can I ever approach a mental-health professional? I just can't blurt out in an interview that I've killed people (Paxton was not the only one). Technically I meet the definition of a serial killer (three or more victims with a cooling-off period in between) but I'm an average-looking person with a family, job, and home just like yourself."

On April 5, while the cops scratched their heads, another fisherman was killed with a shot from a Swedish Mauser two counties farther south, near Interstate 77. Federal, state, and local lawmen formed a task force to find the Hunter of Humans, as reporters tagged the killer. All the murders had happened on weekends, at or near rural roads not far from the two major interstates,

I-70 and I-77, that quadrisect the area south of Akron and Canton. All the victims were alone, shot from a distance with a high-powered rifle. None was robbed, mutilated, or sexually assaulted. Four other killings in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana bore intriguing similarities. And around the same time there was a rash of animal killings: a thousand cows, horses, dogs, and cats shot dead throughout southeast Ohio.

A Break in the Case

ON August 24, 1992, after the task force had publicized its manhunt and opened a toll-free hotline, investigators got a break. A telephone caller who requested anonymity described a hunting companion, a man he had known since high school, a loner and "gun nut," whom he suspected of the murders. The suspect was Thomas Dillon, 42, a husband and father who had worked as a draftsman for 22 years in the Canton Water Department. The informant described himself as having been Dillon's only close friend. On hunting trips Dillon would shoot dogs and cats from public roads, and he kept a calendar in his bedroom recording his score. Once, the informant recalled, Dillon had taken potshots at a farmer. By the early 1980s, Dillon was boasting that his death count had reached 500, and the informant broke off their friendship.

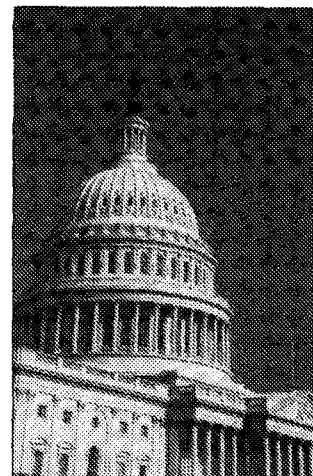
In 1989 Dillon announced he had quit killing animals and invited the informant to accompany him to gun shows. On their long drives, they would talk about guns, hunting—and serial murders. Both had read many books about serial killers. Once Dillon remarked: "Do you realize you can go out into the country and find somebody and there are no witnesses? You can shoot them. There is no motive. Do you realize how easy murder would be to get away with?" During a trip in the summer of 1992, they discussed Ted Bundy and how he had escaped detection for so long. Dillon asked the informant: "Do you think I've ever killed somebody?"

Mr. Methvin is a senior editor at Reader's Digest.

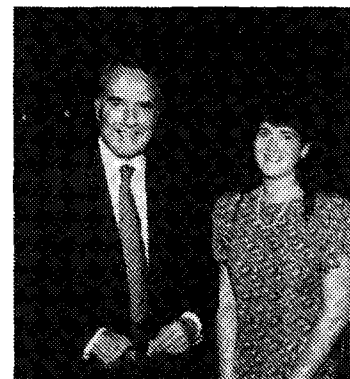
LIVE, LEARN & INTERN IN WASHINGTON, D.C. THIS SUMMER

Undergraduates. . . If you are interested in Political Science, Economics, International Relations, Journalism or Business, come to Washington to:

- ★ Study at Georgetown University for academic credit
- ★ Get practical work experience and make life-changing contacts through internships
- ★ Get an insider's view of Washington at site briefings at the Capitol, White House, & various federal agencies
- ★ Talk with prominent national and international leaders at guest lecture series



The Fund for
American Studies,
in conjunction with
Georgetown University,
sponsors the following
programs:



THE
ENGALITCHEFF
INSTITUTE ON
COMPARATIVE
POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

THE
INSTITUTE ON
POLITICAL
JOURNALISM

THE
BRYCE HARLOW
INSTITUTE ON
BUSINESS AND
GOVERNMENT
AFFAIRS



1995 programs: June 7-July 22, 1995 ☐ Early decisions deadline: January 31 ☐ Application deadline: March 31
Numerous scholarships are available for qualified applicants.

CALL (800) 741-6964 TO APPLY NOW

Caught off guard, the other man said, "No, I don't think so." And Dillon repeated the question. "I'd never seen him like that before," the informant said. "I thought to myself, 'Has anybody been shot?'" When the informant read about the serial killings of five outdoorsmen, he wrestled with his memories for several days and decided to call the police.

Investigators began following Dillon's rural ramblings by airplane, saw enough to alarm them, and managed to arrest him on gun charges. When a prosecutor seeking to deny him bond named him in court as a suspect in the serial killings, another witness stepped forward with a Swedish Mauser he had bought from Dillon at a gun show on April 5, the day the second fisherman was killed; ballistics tests nailed Dillon, and he eventually pleaded guilty to five murders. He is serving a life sentence with no chance of parole.

Serial killers were once rare. Although reports in Europe date back as far as the fifteenth century, London's Jack the Ripper was one of the few to be widely written about before the mid twentieth century, and by modern standards he was a piker, claiming only five victims over three months in 1888 (see p. 38). Yet in the last two decades serial killings have become increasingly frequent, with as many as half a dozen peppering the headlines and newscasts simultaneously, terrorizing entire cities and regions—the Boston Strangler; San Francisco's Zodiac Killer; New York City's Son of Sam; Atlanta's child murderer, Wayne Williams; Los Angeles's Hillside Strangler; Chicago's John Wayne Gacy; Houston's Dean Corll; California's Co-Ed Killer, Ed Kemper; Jeffrey Dahmer, the Milwaukee Cannibal; and a host of others.

Often a killer's victims fit a particular pattern: migrant farm workers, elderly women at home alone, street-walking prostitutes, adolescent boys, black children, attractive young women who part their hair in the middle, hitchhiking co-eds. Sometimes they fit no pattern at all. The phenomenon is worldwide, from England's Yorkshire Ripper, Peter Sutcliffe, who killed 13 women before his apprehension in 1981, to the Rostov Cannibal, Andrei Chikatilo, who slaughtered at least 53 young men and women in Russia, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan over a dozen years before his arrest in 1990.

By one count, the U.S. has seen more than 150 documented cases of serial killers since 1800. John Douglas, a senior FBI analyst, estimates thirty to fifty serial killers are active in the U.S. at any one time. Any city large enough to have significant prostitution, a drug culture, "street people," and runaway kids is a hospitable locale, but so are quiet, semi-rural and exurban areas.

Ohio's Hunter of Humans illustrates the difficulty of catching serial killers. Modern mobility enables a serial killer to move easily from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and makes it difficult for police to recognize connections among deaths. Police often lack the sophisticated organization and computer systems that would help identify the problem while it is happening. In many places, detectives still use a primitive pin map showing the locations of all the homicides in the city.

In New York, Joel Rifkin killed 18 women, mostly prostitutes, unnoticed. He was caught at 3:15 A.M. on June 28, 1993, when two New York State troopers on a Long Island parkway noticed a pickup truck without a license plate. Rifkin led them on a 20-mile chase before smacking into a utility pole. The troopers noticed an odor coming from a tarp in back and found a bloated, decaying body underneath. Rifkin confessed to killing 17 women and directed police to bodies. In his bedroom detectives found credit cards, driver's licenses, and other personal items connecting him to his victims, who were scattered over nine counties. Identification papers connected him to an 18th victim. Until Rifkin's arrest police did not suspect they had a serial killer on their hands.

The Catch Ratio

A SUBSTANTIAL proportion of the rise in reports of serial killings is probably due to increasing police sophistication in recognizing the patterns. But there has also been a real increase in the rate of serial murders, partly due to a decline in the police's efficiency at catching murderers. In the bad old days before the Warren Court's "due process revolution," homicide detectives were very good at catching killers, and states executed a significant proportion of them. We can safely conjecture that many a serial killer was caught early in his career, before he had mastered his craft. Police nationwide cleared homicides at a stable rate of about 92 per cent. The rate began a long slide in 1966, hitting 64 per cent in 1992. That is, unsolved homicides nearly quintupled—to about 8,400, almost as many as the total number of murders in 1965 (9,850).

The late Jeffrey Dahmer—killer of 17 over 13 years, 5 of them in the 2 months before he was caught—would have been stopped after his first killing if police had operated without the unreasonable definition of "reasonable search" imposed by the federal judiciary and the paralyzing fear of federal suits for "civil rights" violations. Dahmer's first murder was in 1978, when he was 18 and lived near Akron, Ohio. He picked up, strangled, and dismembered a hitchhiker. Driving with body parts in garbage bags on the back seat, he was stopped in the wee hours by two cops who thought he was a burglar or marijuana smuggler and asked what was in the bags. Garbage, Dahmer said, claiming he was on the way to a dump. "Let's see it," is all the officers would have had to say to nip this serial cannibal's career after the first victim. In an earlier day, the officers might have pursued their inquiry. But the Supreme Court's definition of a reasonable search inhibited them. So they let the young cannibal go on his way to stardom.

Or consider Coral Eugene Watts, who outfoxed prosecutors and the criminal-justice system despite an IQ of 75. Enrolled at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, he started acting out violent fantasies against women at the age of 21. On October 25, 1974, he knocked on the doors of 2 apartments and strangled 2 women. He left them for dead, but both survived. Five days later he stabbed a 19-year-old co-ed 33 times,

"I WOULD STRIKE DOWN MY OWN BROTHER."



An Elite Spy
Rose Greenhow
(shown with her
daughter), a prom-
inent Washington
hostess, gathered
intelligence for the
South at high-level
parties.

The nation was caught in a shattering crisis. From Illinois, one brother wrote another in Virginia, "I would strike down my own brother if he dare to raise a hand to destroy the flag." Hot-blooded J.E.B. Stuart resigned from the U.S. Army, renouncing his father-in-law, a Union general. In South Carolina war broke out; a young Confederate officer returned fire on Fort Sumter and an old friend, his West Point artillery instructor. It was a war between brothers.

With a roar, the drama unfolds.

TIME-LIFE BOOKS presents a magnificently illustrated series THE CIVIL WAR. The complete story as it has never been told before.

To begin, you'll explore the forces driving North and South apart...follow bloody raids in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry...listen to the clamor of Wide-Awakes and Southrons for Union or Secession...and watch, hour by hour, the fall of Fort Sumter.

A sweeping new account of America's greatest trial.

Examine the first book, *Brother Against Brother*, as our guest.

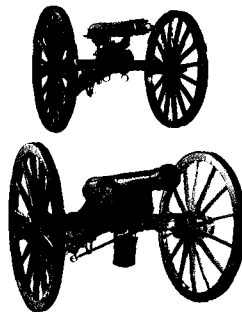
Then, in following volumes the series will take you from Bull Run and the early Southern victories through that bloodiest day of all, Antietam, to harrowing moments as quiet country towns like Gettysburg and Vicksburg are swept into battle.

The editors have searched out personal accounts to add human drama to the story. The irony of Capt. Theodor Carter, C.S.A., fatally wounded in sight of his boyhood home. The humor of a young officer ordering battlefield visitor Abraham Lincoln to "Get down, you damn fool!" as bullets whined past. And the books are filled with great pictures—many never before published—making this series a landmark on the subject.

To see *Brother Against Brother*, mail the card today.

The Gray Ghost Colonel John S. Mosby and his band of guerrillas rode rings around 50,000 Union troops defending Washington—even spirited off a Northern general in his union suit.

THE CIVIL WAR



The Weapons
The war spurred such innovations as the model 1865 Gatling gun (top), submarines and reconnaissance balloons. The barrel of this smoothbore 6-pounder (bottom) was rifled for extra accuracy and range.

If card is missing, mail this coupon to: TIME-LIFE BOOKS, Box 85563, Richmond, VA 23285-5563.

YES! Send me *Brother Against Brother* for 10 days' free examination as my introduction to THE CIVIL WAR series. If I keep it, I pay only \$4.99 plus shipping and handling—a special savings of \$12.00. Also send me future volumes under the no-obligation terms described in this ad.

DNH MJ 4

Name _____ (Please Print)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

All orders are subject to approval. Price subject to change.

OWN BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER FOR JUST \$4.99

Classic Editions: Each volume 9" x 11" • Approximately 176 pages • Embossed hardcover bindings • More than 140 illustrations per book—photos, paintings, battle maps, drawings—many never published before • Rare quotes from diaries and letters • Informative, 40,000 word narrative.



killing her. Identified as a suspect in the non-fatal assaults, Watts listened to the *Miranda* warning, got a lawyer, and followed his advice, refusing to answer any questions about the murder and committing himself to a state mental hospital. More than a year later, Watts

bargained prosecutors into dropping one assault charge in return for a guilty plea to the other, for which he received a one-year sentence.

After his release, Watts killed 6 people in Michigan and probably another in Ontario, earning himself the

Victorian Psycho

THE Jack the Ripper murders in Whitechapel, London, caused a sensation that has never died out. Between the autumn of 1888, when the grisly murders took place, and World War II, half a dozen books on the case were published. Between the end of the war and 1980 nine books appeared, and since 1980 there have been more than twenty. Jack has turned up in novels, short stories, films, and TV shows (Robert Bloch even brought the Ripper onto the *USS Enterprise* in one of the most daring episodes of *Star Trek*). No other murder case has provoked anything like this ballooning bibliography. There is now even a quarterly journal devoted to the topic, *Ripperana*. Philip Sugden's *Complete History of Jack the Ripper* (Orbit, 1994) offers the most thorough, sober, and scholarly narrative that has yet appeared, as well as the most painstaking analysis of the evidence. Anyone who wants to look into the case without wasting time on tosh linking the killings with the royal family or the Freemasons should start with Sugden. To be sure, his account will not be the last word.

Why all the interest? In our day we have become unhappily familiar with serial killers and sex maniacs. To the Victorian mind, however, the Whitechapel murders represented something new, strange, and terrifying. They were reported and embellished in the London newspapers and immediately picked up by the foreign press. In this way the Ripper murders sent shock waves throughout Europe, the United States, and what was then the colonial world.

The sobriquet Jack the Ripper clearly played a part in seizing and holding public attention. Yet there is no good reason to believe that the

killer gave himself that title. The name first appeared at the foot of a letter sent to the Central News Agency after the second murder. Neither that letter nor any of the other Ripper letters sent to the press, Scotland Yard, or the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee have been firmly linked to the murderer. Leading Scotland Yard officers were sure that the first Jack the Ripper letter was the work of a journalist. Most students of the case agreed. In part, then, he was a media invention.

Five murders, all of prostitutes, are definitely credited to the Ripper, and one or two others might have been his. The body of Polly Nichols was found in Bucks Row around 3:40 A.M. on August 31. Her throat had been cut, and she had been mutilated in the abdomen. She was considered by Scotland Yard to have been the first Ripper victim. But two other prostitutes had been murdered with knives in Whitechapel earlier in the year. These other murders were never cleared up, and there is reason to attribute at least one of them to the Ripper. At any rate, the hue and cry now began in earnest, and Whitechapel was inundated with police. To no avail. On the morning of September 8, Annie Chapman was found dead and mutilated in Hanbury Street. At 1 A.M. on September 30, Elizabeth Stride was found dead in Berner Street. Only 45 minutes later the body of Catharine Eddowes was found in Mitre Square. It seemed the killer had been interrupted while cutting up his first victim that night. Elizabeth Stride was only lightly mutilated, whereas Catharine Eddowes was the worst yet.

Nothing happened in October or in the first week of November. Then, on the morning of November 9, police were called to a dingy apartment off Miller's Court, again in Whitechapel. Mary Jane Kelly was

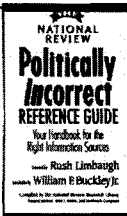
the last known victim of Jack the Ripper, and no one who saw the scene of the crime, soaked with blood and strewn with viscera, was ever able to forget it.

Of all the suspects paraded before us by the various Ripper authors, including Mr. Sugden, none would need Perry Mason to get an acquittal on the evidence as it stands. For some years the front-runner was a barrister and schoolmaster named Montague John Drutt, who committed suicide shortly after the Miller's Court murder. He was favored by a senior Scotland Yard man, Sir Melville Macnagten, mainly, it appears, because Drutt's family suspected him. We don't know why.

RECENT research points to a Polish Jew named Aaron Kosminski. He was identified by a witness who had seen a man with one of the victims a few minutes before her murder. Yet the witness would not give evidence in court. The trouble with Kosminski is that he did not come to police attention until February 1891, more than two years after the last murder took place. Kosminski was incarcerated in Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum. Later he was taken to another asylum, where he died in 1919.

Because of the continuing mystery about the killer's identity, a darkly glamorous legend has flourished. Lurking in a dim corner of the public imagination with his top hat, cloak, and Gladstone bag, walking silently at night through the swirling fog of Victorian London, Jack the Ripper has only a tenuous connection with the Whitechapel murderer. He is more a Gothic monster than a real person; it's no coincidence that the popular fascination with the Ripper coincides with a boom in Gothic horror. It would all come to an end if he could be identified and found to be as boring and mediocre as most killers are. —MICHAEL HARRINGTON

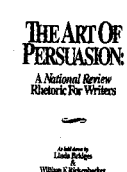
Mr. Harrington is a London journalist.



THE NATIONAL REVIEW POLITICALLY INCORRECT REFERENCE GUIDE
Your handbook for the right information sources (over 10,000 conservative books, articles, and groups listed under 200-plus topics). A must for students. \$19.95/softcover.



THE RISE OF THE RIGHT
Revised and updated. Former *NR* Publisher Bill Rusher's definitive, eyewitness history of modern American conservatism. A front-row seat at the development of a political phenomenon! \$14.95/softcover.



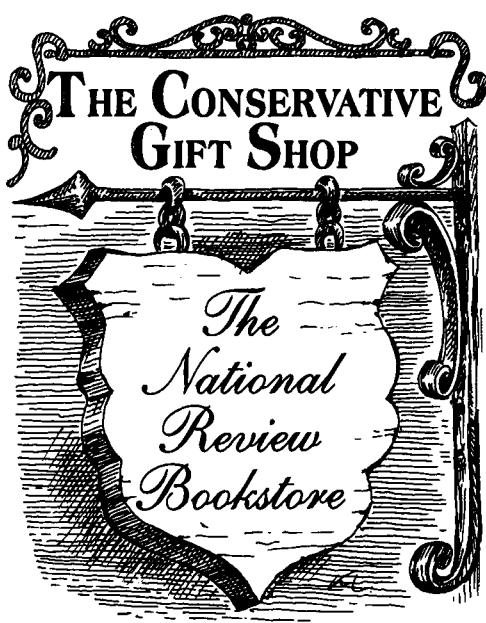
THE ART OF PERSUASION
Grab, surprise, please, amuse, and persuade your readers! *NR*'s Linda Bridges's and Bill Rickenbacker's how-to guide for writing with clarity and style will take you to the outer limits of English prose! \$19.95/hardcover.



WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?
Tender, poignant, warm, and funny, the collected work of the late Aloise Buckley Heath makes a wonderful gift. Trenchant social commentary, along with hilarious vignettes of *real* family values. \$16.95/hardcover.



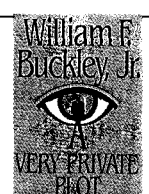
WINDFALL
Critics have praised this moving account of WFB's 1990 Atlantic voyage as his best sailing book ever, because it's about more than just sailing (it's about *life*). Filled with beautiful full-color photographs. Personally autographed. \$25.00/hardcover.



THE RIGHT DATA
The acclaimed collection of Ed Rubenstein's popular "Right Data" columns, plus *NR*'s famous "Real Reagan Record," and hundreds of charts and graphs on dozens of economic topics. *The* liberal economic myth debunking kit. \$14.95/softcover.



SPEAKING IN PUBLIC
Let Reid Buckley (WFB's brother and head of the Buckley School of Public Speaking) untie your tongue! This handbook will have you discombobulating the opposition with all your powers of persuasion! \$17.95/hardcover.



A VERY PRIVATE PLOT
The latest and last (and the best!) of WFB's Blackford Oakes novels. This gripping, fast-paced spy thriller takes readers on travels unrivaled in cold war fiction. Personally autographed by WFB! \$25.00/hardcover.



LETTERS FROM AL
The collection of *NR*'s side-splitting "Letter from Al" columns—where Veep Al Gore regularly writes old friend "Rusty" about life in the Clinton Administration. Too often too true to real events. Makes a great gift for any occasion. \$5.95/softcover



THE LOSS OF VIRTUE
The heralded analysis of how liberals have undermined society by discrediting the core virtues, such as Tolerance, Civility, Honor, and Fortitude. With a Preface by John O'Sullivan. \$19.95/hardcover.

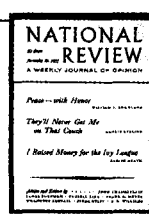


THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE
Revised edition with introduction by WFB. *National Review* profiles the 58 top liberal-arts schools which still offer a traditional education in the 90's Gulag of political correctness and multiculturalism. \$13.00/softcover.

NATIONAL REVIEW
150 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

Please send me the books I've checked below.

No. of copies	Book	Price	Total
_____	THE NATIONAL REVIEW POLITICALLY INCORRECT REFERENCE GUIDE	\$19.95	_____
_____	THE RISE OF THE RIGHT	\$14.95	_____
_____	THE ART OF PERSUASION	\$19.95	_____
_____	WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?	\$16.95	_____
_____	WINDFALL	\$25.00	_____
_____	NATIONAL REVIEW PREMIER ISSUE (classic)	\$49.95	_____
_____	(hardcover)	\$24.95	_____
_____	(paper)	\$12.95	_____
_____	SPEAKING IN PUBLIC	\$17.95	_____
_____	A VERY PRIVATE PLOT	\$25.00	_____
_____	THE RIGHT DATA	\$14.95	_____
_____	LETTERS FROM AL	\$ 5.95	_____
_____	THE LOSS OF VIRTUE	\$19.95	_____
_____	THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE	\$13.00	_____
_____	Shipping and handling	\$3.00	_____
_____	Add applicable state tax for delivery in NY \$	_____	_____
_____	Total enclosed \$	_____	_____
NAME _____			
ADDRESS _____			
CITY _____	STATE _____	ZIP _____	
Make checks payable to National Review. Foreign orders add \$4.00 US for every book ordered. 12395			



NATIONAL REVIEW PREMIER ISSUE
This special keepsake is an artful remembrance of the magazine that launched the modern conservative movement. A commemorative reprise of the original November 19, 1955, first issue of the publication that "stands athwart history, yelling Stop!" A must-have for every conservative! Available editions: Paper (\$12.95), Hardcover (\$24.95), and Classic – gold-stamped, handbound leather, autographed by WFB (\$49.95).

nickname the Sunday Morning Slasher. In March 1981, after police put Watts under surveillance, he moved to Texas. Michigan cops alerted Texas cops, but in vain. Within days Watts had killed a medical student out jogging. Six months later he knifed 2 women to death in separate attacks the same night. He got 6 in 6 weeks in the spring of 1982. Finally, he was caught fleeing a Sunday-morning attack on 2 women in their apartment; another woman was found strangled in her bathtub.

Psychiatrists declared Watts legally sane but diagnosed him as a paranoid schizophrenic with a pathological hatred of women; his fantasies, they found, "revolve to a large extent around the struggle against the 'evil' he sees everywhere." He escaped trial for homicide by agreeing to a guilty plea on burglary and assault charges with a 60-year sentence and parole eligibility in 20 years. In return he confessed to 14 Houston homicides and led or directed cops to 3 undiscovered bodies. He also admitted to murdering a young woman found floating in an Austin swimming pool, whose death had been judged accidental. Investigators believe his body count totals at least 22. However, a decision by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals wiped out his assault conviction. As a result, he no longer has to serve 20 years before being eligible for parole. He had a parole hearing in 1993 and will get another in 1996; his current release date is 2007. He is 40 years old—young enough for another round of Sunday-morning murders.

In addition to weaknesses in the criminal-justice system, publicity has contributed to the rise in serial murders by encouraging imitation. One student of this phenomenon is Shervert Frazier, who has served as president of the American Psychiatric Association, direc-

tor of the National Institute of Mental Health, and supervisor of psychiatric services at Massachusetts's Bridgewater State Hospital for the criminally insane. Frazier's patients there included the Boston Strangler, Albert DeSalvo (13 victims in 1962–64). Frazier says many people have murderous fantasies and control them through "bypass techniques." They may get in their cars and drive to an isolated place where they can't hurt anyone, or go to a beach and walk until they're exhausted. One murderer Frazier studied would visit a lake and sit for hours, even days. Another sought strenuous nighttime employment to avoid explosive feelings that emerged at night. Another repeatedly walked a course in a ritualized way.

All these strategies ultimately failed in the cases Frazier studied, but many people do succeed in controlling murderous impulses through such techniques. A highly publicized murder or series of murders may push such individuals over the edge. In 1974 Dean Corll and two accomplices were found to have killed 27 youths in a homosexual murder series around Houston. A nationwide rash of homosexual assaults and single murders ensued. Says Frazier, "That means there are a lot of people abroad in the land with the same ideas who generally keep control; but the person who has inhibitions against acting out his urges finds it easier to break through his controls when he sees somebody has gotten away with 27 murders." After Frazier discussed homicide on a nationwide talk show, he got dozens of letters from people describing their own murderous impulses and struggles to stay in control.

Interviews with the Killers

PSYCHIATRISTS like Frazier and FBI crime analysts are beginning to dispel the mystery surrounding serial killers. In the late 1960s Frazier and collaborators from Massachusetts to Saskatchewan went into prisons and interviewed 31 murderers: 23 who had killed 1 each; 1, Charles Whitman, who had killed 16 in the infamous Texas Tower mass murder; and 7 serial murderers who had killed 3 to 13 victims each. The researchers also interviewed families, friends, teachers, police, and probation authorities. The serial killers themselves, put away for life, generally proved cooperative and candid. Several of the single murderers, it transpired, were beginning serial killers who had got caught before they had polished their techniques.

Frazier concluded that these killers had been subjected to brutalizing treatment that generated overwhelming hostile and ultimately murderous emotions. Many had been beaten repeatedly or sexually abused as children; as adolescents and adults, they were given to gender confusion, chaotic sexual behavior, and periodic cross-dressing. The rage and confused sexual impulses generated delusions. Yet these killers were organized and rational enough to plan and execute several murders. They were like Captain Ahab, who proclaimed, "All of my methods are rational; only my ends are insane."



"I think Al's getting serious. He wants me to meet his parole officer!"

NATIONAL REVIEW

West



Published in Conjunction With
The Claremont Institute

NR West Editor
Douglas A. Jeffrey

Contributing Editors
Edward J. Erler
Christopher Flannery
Harold Johnson
Brian Kennedy

Contents

Good Vibrations	page 1
West World	page 2
Loathing and Loathing in Sacramento	page 5
The Use and Abuse of Civil Rights	page 6
West Coast Observer	page 8

NR West/Claremont Institute
250 West First St.
Suite 330
Claremont, Calif. 91711
Phone: 909-621-6825
Advertising Information:
Dorothy Hoffberg,
Advertising Director

GOOD VIBRATIONS

CHARLES R. KESLER

ELECTIONS are a lot like earthquakes. You never know whether the one you've just experienced is an isolated event, the aftershock from a previous quake, or a foreshock of the Big One. Only with time does the significance of the vibrations become clear. Still, you can tell a big shaker from a minor temblor, and it is clear that the 1994 elections in the West and in the nation as a whole were a huge jolt to the political system.

It's been widely noted that not a single Republican congressman, senator, or governor lost his re-election bid. It's been less widely remarked that for the first time since the direct election of senators, the entire freshman class in the Senate (11 Republicans) will be from the same party, including two Westerners, Jon Kyl of Arizona and Craig Thomas of Wyoming. In governors' races, the GOP gained eight overall, including the statehouses of Idaho, Wyoming, and New Mexico, thus controlling a majority of governorships for the first time since 1970. And the Republicans not only retained every state legislative chamber they already held, but took control of 14 more, including both houses of the Alaska legislature, the lower house in Washington, and the Oregon Senate. Their narrow victory in the

(Continues on page West-4)

WEST WORLD

■ Denying a report that he had campaigned in Massachusetts for Ted Kennedy, who is his wife's uncle, conservative movie star Arnold Schwarzenegger remarked, "Anyone who believes that rumor believes also that there are Richard Simmons Jrs. running around."

■ Former House Speaker Tom Foley confirmed the suspicions of his former constituents that he had ceased to think of his Spokane district as his home by announcing that he would take a job at a Washington, D.C., law firm. He would also be interested in an overseas posting—"Tokyo would be attractive," according to his spokesman. But Spokane isn't the only place Foley won't settle: an ambassadorship in Peking is out because of the smog. Which gives us an incentive-based idea for reducing the length of congressional sessions: move the nation's capital to Los Angeles.

■ Meanwhile some Democrats who didn't have the opportunity to get tossed in 1994 are diversifying their incomes in anticipation of 1996. U.S. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado, for instance, has been touring the West showing and selling the jewelry he has designed, which by all reports is better fashioned than his legislation.

■ Christmas has come and gone again, sort of, in the Los Angeles Unified School District. Christmas pageants were out and "winter programs" and "holiday celebrations" were in. Gathering the children together to shout about nothing in particular seemed to be the general idea. Some question the wisdom of taking precious time from the rigorous academic programs for which L.A. Unified is famous to indulge in these emasculated celebrations. But teachers and principals argued that to abandon the programs would victimize poor students, "because the school's winter program may be their only celebration of whatever holiday they observe this time of year." The policy seems to be to provide poverty of soul to complement the bodily variety.

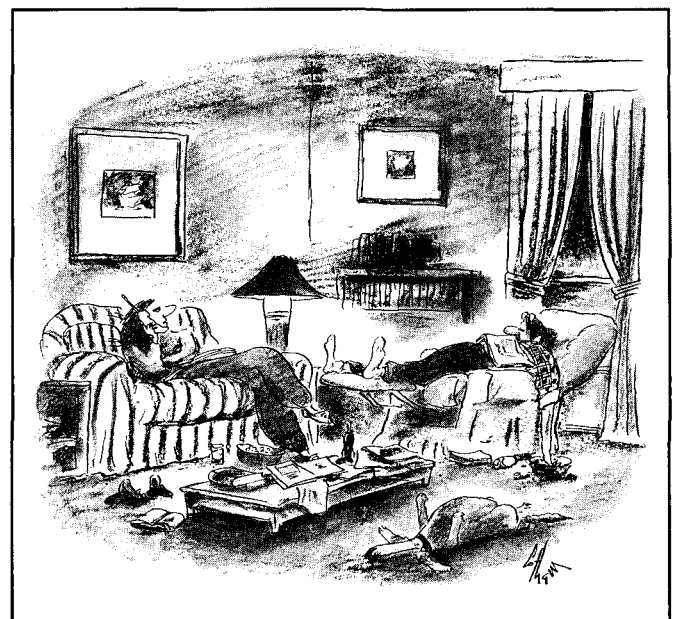
■ Actually, the 1980 federal court ruling on religious holidays in public schools permits the observance of such holidays through teaching about their historical and cultural development. In this spirit, one L.A. school evoked the great Christmas musical heritage

with renditions of songs like "Jingle Bells Rock." At the Broad Avenue Elementary School, "first-graders decked in hand-made reindeer antlers gyrated to an upbeat 'Reindeer Twist.'" At Bellagio Newcomer School in Brentwood, a school for newly arrived students from other countries, one teacher brought in a model of a chimney and explained the central mystery of the holiday: how a fat man in a red suit gets

into an American house in mid winter. And one class was reported to have received permission to sing "Silent Night," but—to diminish the risk of importing religious themes into the classroom—only in Korean.

■ Not that the Clinton Administration is bitter, but we hear its refusal to include Los Angeles among cities receiving \$375 million to rebuild neighborhoods was accompanied by a note saying: "Get it from Mike Huffington."

■ The City of San Jose spent a half million dollars for a sculpture of the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl (pronounced as it is spelled), to be erected in the city's Plaza de Cesar Chavez. In November this three-ton image of a feathered serpent ("the most common depiction of the deity") was unveiled amid great hoopla, including more than twenty troupes of brightly costumed Aztec dancers. The mayor addressed protestors—both social conservatives, who objected to honoring a god of human sacrifice, and fiscal conservatives, who would have preferred a tax rebate, thank you—insisting that "we must be willing to listen to art" and calling for respect for diversity and inclusion. But just weeks later, in the same plaza, a nativity scene that had been part of the annual Christmas display for twenty years was excluded. And the same mayor excused this in the



"We're in a heightened state of residence."

name of . . . diversity! One member of the Downtown Association explained: "Either you have to remove religion from public areas . . . [or] you should include everybody." But at last check, baby Jesus was still excluded, and Quetzalcoatl remained.

■ What is it about big-city California mayors? Following an incident in November in which one policeman was killed and another wounded, San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan announced that his city's police force would replace their 6-shot revolvers with 12-shot semi-automatics of the kind recently taken off the market for the rest of us by the United States Congress. Mayor Jordan's police chief explained that the criminal class today is simply too well-armed to be dealt with in the old style. Yet Mayor Jordan went on to call for more, not less, federal gun-control regulation to be applied to ordinary citizens. Meanwhile, Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, apparently invigorated by the experience of endorsing Diane Feinstein, endorsed the adoption of Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), Vietnam, as L.A.'s sister city—this over the protests of veterans and others disturbed by Vietnam's reluctance to clarify the fates of American POWs and MIAs. Well, there's always San Diego—we hope.

■ Rumor has it that Governor Pete Wilson is inviting Colin Powell, Jimmy Carter, and Sam Nunn to Sacramento to persuade Assembly Speaker Willie Brown to step down.

■ Yosemite, Yellowstone, Grand Teton, awake! Affirmative action, having brought peace, prosperity, and justice to American cities, is taking to the hills. Roger Kendall, director of America's National Park Service, is alarmed at the under-representation of black Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians among the 270 million or so visitors each year to America's national parks. So this pale-faced bureaucrat proposes to bus Geronimo into the Badlands. "With minorities and immigrants typically clustered in large cities, only the more affluent are likely to know about the parks," reasoned one environmental journalist (not stopping to explain the mystery that foreigners flock to the parks in droves). Last year the Park Service opened Manzanar National Monument in Central California to commemorate a World War II detention camp for Japanese-Americans. (Never mind that Japanese are highly visible at the parks already.) To make Native Americans feel more welcome, Custer National Monument in Montana was re-named Little Big Horn Battlefield. Plans are being considered for a monument in southeast Idaho to commemorate a massacre of Shoshone Indians by the U.S. Cavalry in 1863. Heaven forbid that white Americans should be given a rest from loathing themselves, even in the great outdoors.

■ The city of Santa Ana, California, may help remedy the Park Service's dilemma. Ninety city attorneys from throughout California are joining Santa Ana in defending a 1992 ordinance prohibiting camping or storing belongings on public property. The ordinance, which is an attempt to deal with a proliferation of "homeless" campers, is being reviewed by the California Supreme Court, and is opposed by the U.S. attorney general, who has filed a brief on behalf of the bums. Cities across the country are expected to pass similar ordinances if Santa Ana wins its case. Opponents of the ordinance argue that it infringes on the rights of the "homeless" to "travel." In fact, supporters wish to *encourage* the homeless to travel, preferably beyond the city limits—where the National Park Service buses will, no doubt, be waiting.

■ "On one block of L.A.'s Fairfax Avenue, immigrants can revel in their ancient African roots," reads a recent headline in the *Los Angeles Times* Metro section. The author describes a thriving Ethiopian enclave in the "culturally diverse" metropolis. One Ethiopian gentleman, Abdul Ali, explained the culturally enriching locale: "I love this block," he said. "I can chill when I come here." Which is a rough translation of an ancient Amharic sacred invocation.

■ After Oregon's Ballot Measure 16 passed in November, legalizing physician-assisted suicide, state health officials began to grapple with the problem of what to call the practice. Under the new law, the cause of such deaths may not be listed as "suicide," to prevent "patients" from having their privacy violated. When the Oregon Health Division convened a task force to look at the issue, and it came up with the euphemism "drug overdose, legally prescribed." Watch for the Clinton White House to hire these bureaucrats to package its Health Care Reform Plan II.

■ In Utah, U.S. Magistrate Ronald Boyce has held that adultery is not speech, thus not a protected constitutional right. His recommendation to a federal judge was prompted by the efforts of police Sergeant Gary Oliverson to challenge his 1986 suspension from the West Valley, Utah, police force, which suspension was imposed when it was revealed that the married Oliverson was sexually involved with several women he had met through a work-related program. It is a sign of the times that such a frivolous suit conflating adultery with speech would be brought. It is a sorrier sign that the farther up the federal judicial ladder Mr. Oliverson goes, the likelier he is to find a sympathetic ear.

■ Bumper sticker spotted in solidly Republican and unhappily bankrupt Orange County: "Split your ticket in '96: Hillary Tyson-Rodham-Clinton for County Treasurer."

KESLER

(Continued from page West-1)

California Assembly turned to ashes, however, when maverick Republican Paul Horcher declared himself an independent and voted for Democrat Willie Brown for Speaker, throwing the Assembly into a 40-40 deadlock from which it is unlikely soon to emerge.

BUT the biggest news came in the races for the U.S. House of Representatives, in which Republicans broke the Democratic stranglehold over that body by defeating 35 Democratic incumbents and winning 21 open seats. In the GOP sweep of the House, the West led the way, converting a higher percentage of Democratic seats than any other region of the country, and giving the Republicans a majority of Western seats for the first time since 1956. The switchover was most dramatic in Washington state, whose delegation went from eight Democrats and one Republican to seven Republicans and two Democrats. This news got overshadowed by developments in the South, where Republicans won a majority of seats for the first time since 1872.

Across the West, the devices of direct democracy aided the conservative surge. In Alaska, voters agreed by a 72 to 28 per cent margin to amend the state constitution as follows: "The individual right to keep and bear firearms shall not be denied or infringed by the state or a political subdivision of the state." In Nevada, the people resolved by a 78 to 22 percent margin to require a two-thirds vote of the state legislature to pass any bill or resolution that would raise public revenue in any form. The cussedness of Westerners defeated several initiatives of interest to conservatives, including an Arizona property rights measure, a Wyoming anti-abortion law, and an Idaho restriction on "gay rights." But term limits initiatives of various kinds passed in Colorado, Nevada, Alaska, and Idaho. (Term limits may come in for serious rethinking in the next two years, however, as conservatives awake to the idea's disadvantages.) In California, voters rejected a Canadian-style sin-

gle-payer health care plan by almost 3-to-1, proving that President Clinton's mistake was not (as liberal apologists moan) his ducking straightforward, as opposed to arcane, socialism. By a 3-to-2 margin, Californians voted to deny social welfare benefits to illegal immigrants, a decision widely condemned as racist by the national media, which somehow failed to report that, according to the *Los Angeles Times* exit poll, 47 percent of black and Asian voters supported Proposition 187; in fact, 23 percent of Latino voters approved it, too.

Is this, then, taken all in all, the political realignment that conservatives have been anxiously predicting, awaiting, and despairing of for the past 25 years? Is this, at last—the Big One? Not yet, but this may well be a foreshock of what is to come in 1996 and beyond. Not once in the past 75 years has the incumbent party suffered congressional losses of this order unless the country was in economic recession or depression, was at war or winding down from war, or was recovering from deep presidential scandal (1974)—none of which obtained in 1994. Besides, such large losses are almost unheard of in the second year of a president's term (they typically occur in the sixth year, if at all).

Moreover, the results signal the end of the Democratic lock on southern congressional seats, long the key to their congressional empire. Fifty years ago, Democrats could count on a hundred seat majority from the former Confederate states; lately that has dwindled to about 30; now the

Republicans can count on at least splitting the South, and given that more incumbent Democrats are likely to retire or be defeated soon, the GOP will deploy a long-term majority of a dozen or two dozen seats there. Combined with their resurgent strength in the West and Midwest, this should give Republicans an edge in the House of Representatives: future Republican majorities will be easier to assemble, future Democratic majorities will be smaller and less stable.

OF COURSE, what is astounding about the 1994 elections is precisely that the GOP put an end to 40 years of uninterrupted Democratic control of the House. Not since the early 19th century had one party succeeded in dominating the House for so long—longer than most Americans have been alive. And many political observers had begun to wonder whether the Republicans would ever be able to do it, given the increasing advantages of incumbency enjoyed by the Democrats. Since 1968, American politics had seemed to fall into a "dealignment" in which the Republicans could routinely win presidential elections but Democrats had an unshakable hold on Congress. Democratic congressmen seemed more and more insulated from national public opinion, protected by their ability to hide behind the modern administrative state, posing as helpful, nonpartisan ombudsmen rather than as partisan lawmakers. Yet in 1994 the Republicans retook the House and Senate by focusing the public's atten-



Charles R. Kesler is Director of the Henry Salvatori Center at Claremont McKenna College.

tion on the partisan differences between themselves and the Democrats; or more precisely, on the Republican version of those partisan differences. This meant "nationalizing" the election, but along Republican lines: asking voters to think of themselves as citizens making a choice for the whole country, not as claimants or victims wielding grievances against the republic.

EVERY realigning election is a kind of referendum on American republicanism, a reaffirmation, or at least a profound reconsideration, of the meaning of our founding principles. The fate of this incipient realignment will depend in large part on what the Republicans say and do about these principles, particularly in the upcoming presidential race. Demographic trends and negative campaigning, in short, are not enough to prevent a return to liberal politics-as-usual. Twice before, in 1946 and 1952, the GOP was granted majorities in the House and Senate, but in both cases the party

squandered its opportunities and was promptly ushered out of power. Speaker Newt Gingrich and other Republican officeholders are well aware of the problem, but it is a tall order to earn the American people's affection and loyalty for any political party these days—so alienated is contemporary Washington from the basic principles of the American political tradition. Indeed, one explanation of the unprecedented period of divided government we have experienced since 1968 is that the public didn't trust either party, and so played them off against each other. At any rate, the Republicans now have a chance to prove not only that they can amend the Constitution if necessary, but that—more importantly—they can restore the Constitution itself to a central place in American politics and political discourse.

That notion could shake the modern bureaucratic state to its foundations, and set off good vibrations for a long time to come. □

Post-Election Brouhaha

LOATHING AND LOATHING IN SACRAMENTO

DEBRA J. SAUNDERS

THE math favored the right. On the morning of December 5, the Assembly makeup was 41-39 Republican. Assembly Republican Leader Jim Brulte had been crowing about an electoral sweep that yielded 500,000 more votes for his caucus candidates over Democrats. But when the vote to seat or unseat California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown was tallied, the numbers were not enough. It all came down to personality.

Brown had in his pocket one factor that overcame ideology and overturned the math: GOP Assemblyman Paul Horcher of Diamond Bar. With the exception of an abstention by one

Democrat, the roll call vote for Speaker had followed partisan lines, either for Brown or Brulte, until the H's. Then, with a thump of his fist and a defiant shout of "Brown," Horcher's vote tipped the scales. When all the votes were counted (and the abstention became a Brown vote) the house was split 40-40. And Californians had no Assembly Speaker.

On cue, a press release was distributed in the Assembly gallery to herald Horcher's decision to join the "Independent Caucus." But Democrats chortled that it was payback time. Two years earlier, the Republican caucus had ostracized Horcher for accepting the Ways and Means vice chairmanship—a present from Brown that went against the wishes of GOP leaders.

Debra J. Saunders is a columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle.

Master's Degrees for the Classroom Teacher

Delivered Off-Campus
In Your Area

Recognized as a state leader
in delivering off-campus
graduate degrees/credentials
to the educators of California.



1-800-695-4858

Accredited By W.A.S.C.

PROFESSIONAL ROOFING SERVICES

COMMERCIAL/INDUSTRIAL
NEW & EXISTING PROPERTY

•INSTALLATION •REPAIRS
•MAINTENANCE

•Full range of construction
related services

Serving all California

ROCK SOLID SINCE 1934

STONE
ROOFING
COMPANY, INCORPORATED

730 N. Coney Avenue
Azusa, CA 91702

Call us for all your roofing
and construction needs

Ask for Rick Beal

(800) 31-STONE

(800) 317-8663

License number 159149

With the Brown vote, Horcher, who ironically had just months before campaigned for state office bashing Brown, got his revenge.

IN AN attempt to tip the vote from stalemate to victory, Brown loyalists moved to oust Republican Assemblyman Dick Mountjoy, who, due to a quirk in election law, won a special election to the State Senate concurrent with winning his reelection. It had been Mountjoy's intent to vote for Brulte, then move over to the Senate. The Democrats sought a vote to disqualify Mountjoy, but were thwarted when Assembly Chief Clerk E. Dotson Wilson would not allow a vote on Mountjoy's fitness until after the speakership vote.

The next day, clerk Wilson came down with a stress-related illness. Brown, as senior member, took over as presiding officer. And you just know that he would have found a way to bring Mountjoy to a vote. Unwilling to assist, Republicans bolted the building, thereby denying Brown a quorum.

When the Legislature reconvenes in 1995, it will do so without a speaker. Not that Willie Brown accepts that—his office continues to send out press releases in which he calls himself speaker. "The guy doesn't get it," Brulte fumed in response. "He's not the speaker." Then again, it is that attitude that kept Brown on the Assembly throne longer than any of his predecessors.

There is a contingent in Sacramento that would like to see an end to the imperial speakership. Democrats Deborah Bowen and Dede Alpert presented Brown with a plan, used in the evenly-split Michigan House, to share power positions in the Assembly. In that 54 votes will be needed to enact a state budget, some doubt that anyone from either party can control the Assembly.

Willie Brown is not among that number. He says that power-sharing will not work in California. His alternative plan is for the Republicans magically to elect him speaker for 1995. Why? Brown told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that he wanted to be elected speaker, but had planned, before the December 5 vote, to step down on his 61st birthday. Later that week, he told the *Los Angeles Times* he would step down in July.

Brulte, for his part, says that he will

be speaker in January, anticipating that Mountjoy will keep his promise to stay in the Assembly and forfeit his Senate seat. No doubt Brulte is also banking on threatened recalls of vulnerable Democrats to prompt a defection or two. If that effort fails, Brulte may have a later shot at the speakership, if a fledgling recall effort against Horcher succeeds. Indeed, it is highly possible that there will be a series of speakers in the coming two years, as members serving their last term-limit imposed session retire in favor of permanent positions.

Californians may be witnessing the beginning of a prolonged stalemate. But even if the Assembly were to elect a leader quickly, the December follies should raise concern among term-limit supporters. Many of us believed that term limits would produce more courageous and independent politicians. But December voting, if anything, demonstrated more cowardice, slavishness, and business as usual. As for the

Republicans, in the mistaken belief that Brulte had the votes, they were busy picking out the drapes in offices they had envied throughout their terms.

ASK any insider: Incumbents have reacted to Proposition 130-imposed term limits with a vengeance. They consider voters ingrates who don't deserve their political courage. The fact that no Democrat voted against Brown certainly demonstrates their willingness to go along to get along and reform be damned.

Perhaps there is hope to be found in post-130 members, who understood that their time was limited from the get-go. Meanwhile, the speakership battle is a fascinating flap. It is also a contest, not so much of ideology, as ego. The question is whether it will consume the Capitol, eclipsing the more difficult business of governing California or correcting the state's smoke-and-mirrors budget. □

A Good Place to Start Cutting

THE USE AND ABUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS

EDWARD J. ERLER

NOT everyone has "gotten the message" of recent election results. That was the clear lesson of a recent meeting of the California State Advisory Commission on Civil Rights.

Every state has one of these federally funded agencies, which are appointed by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, supposedly to serve as its "eyes and ears." While federal law makes each of the state commissions responsible to the U.S. Commission, they are in fact virtual fiefdoms of the regional directors, a tightly knit group of "civil rights professionals" who unabashedly push a radical agenda.

The state advisory commissions have

Edward J. Erler is a member of the California State Advisory Commission on Civil Rights.

little formal power. They cannot ordinarily issue subpoenas to witnesses and are limited to making recommendations for corrective action or further investigation to appropriate federal agencies. But in fact, under the command of the regional directors, they rely on the publicity generated by a compliant press and intimidation to accomplish their goals.

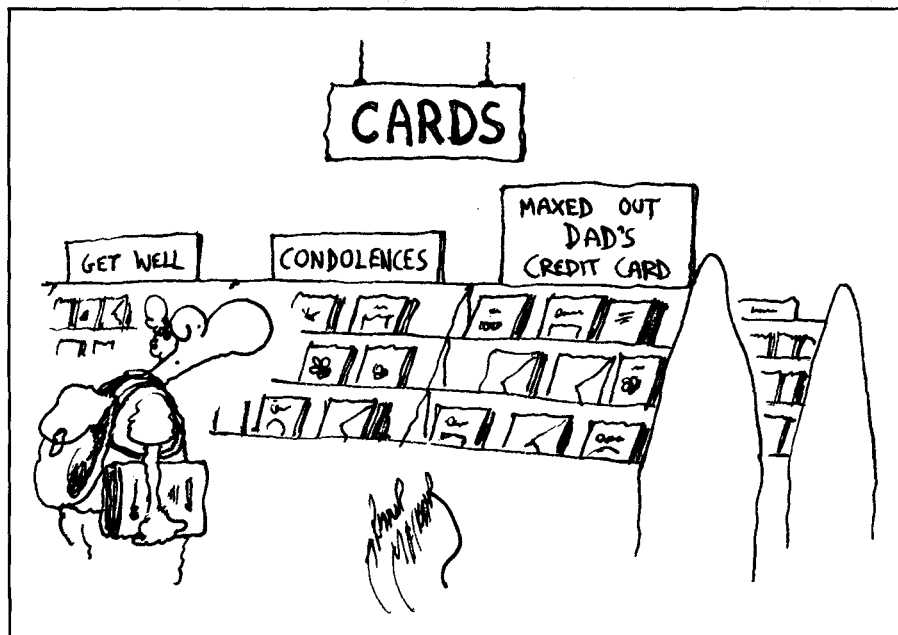
Rarely does such intimidation fail to achieve its purpose. A public hearing in a community investigating allegations of racism or civil rights violations will more times than not produce a new affirmative action plan for city employees, the resignation of a city official, a recall election, or a law suit by a special interest group. Indeed, some members have complained that the California Commission is merely an investigative arm for such groups.

Subjects for investigation and witness lists are determined by the director's fiat. Consequently, the witness lists are rarely balanced, even though federal law requires balanced presentations and a representation of all points of view.

A RECENT hearing by the California Commission into allegations of discrimination in the southern California news media is a case in point. The usual litany of discrimination was related by the usual cast of witnesses (no representatives of management were invited to testify). Most of the testimony consisted of episodic and rehearsed personal accounts. Many witnesses complained of the difficulties of being hired or promoted with an Hispanic surname. One witness complained, however, that some "Anglos" were changing their names to Hispanic ones, e.g., adopting the name of an Hispanic great-grandmother, prior to applying for jobs. Another witness even suggested that his advocacy group should serve as a clearing house for job applicants to insure that they are authentically Hispanic—a kind of ethnic purity office. No one, of course, seemed puzzled that, in the face of an industry that is systematically anti-Hispanic, anyone would want to change their name in this way in order to procure a job.

A constant complaint was that media management in the southern California market either does not understand or is actively indifferent to the Hispanic community. Most news managers, the Commission was told, are "immigrants" from outside the region. Even though some of these "immigrants" are Hispanics, they do not understand nor do they sympathize with the concerns of the local Hispanic community. Some witnesses suggested that there should be a kind of Proposition 187-like bar to these immigrants, since only "indigenous" Hispanics could understand the customs, concerns, and political dynamic of the local community.

More seriously, several witnesses—including Esther Renteria, National Chair of the National Hispanic Media Coalition—suggested that those stations that do not represent the minority community should lose their FCC licenses because they are violating the "public interest" requirements of federal law. Indeed, Renteria suggested



that "lack of diversity in the workplace . . . and stereotypical prime time programming infringes on the civil rights of TV viewers." Thus the bizarre implication that TV viewers have the right to see their ethnic or racial identity represented on national television, according to some theory of ethnic and racial fairness that stems from "population parity"—or indeed that anyone has the right to see anything on TV!

Of course, if the FCC begins to pull the licenses of local stations based on the notion that ethnic fairness is an essential ingredient of the public interest doctrine, there will be plenty of minorities ready to take advantage of the FCC's racial set-asides for awarding coveted licenses. These racial preferences—which have been upheld by the Supreme Court—were instituted supposedly to ensure racial and ethnic diversity in programming. The FCC has not yet been aggressive in linking eth-

nic diversity requirements to the public interest doctrine, but it could be a convenient method of denying license renewals to stations that don't toe the line. There are more than a few minority-owned media firms—some operating under the guise of civil rights advocacy—positioned to take advantage of a more aggressive FCC enforcement policy. (According to an article in *Forbes*, one such firm, Rainbow Broadcasting, Inc., is headed by Esther Renteria.)

This is simply another example of special interest advocacy disguised as civil rights advocacy—all abetted by a federal commission. It's exactly what Americans have signaled they want stopped. As Democrats and Republicans alike are flashing their knives in search of spending cuts to offset tax cuts, they would be well-advised to look long and hard at the regional offices and state agencies of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. □



School of Continuing Education (800) 695-4858

UNIVERSITY OF LA VERNE

Evening & Weekend Classes Leading to a Degree . . .

Bachelor of Science in

Business Health Management Public Administration

Masters in

Business (MBA) Healthcare Administration (MHA)

For Further Information Call (800) 695-4858

Sex, Fires, and Videotape

FEMALE firefighter recruits in Los Angeles are having trouble climbing the job ladder—literally. An hour-long training video circulated anonymously by the Los Angeles Fire Department in early December shows several women candidates in full firefighter regalia, struggling in scene after scene to perform the basic, physically rigorous tasks necessary to fight fires and save lives. But rather than acknowledge the immense public safety threat posed by gender quotas in the Fire Department, liberal city officials have set off the “sexism” alarm and called for increased efforts at affirmative action.

The infamous videotape—dubbed “female follies” by fire department insiders—prompted three members of the Los Angeles City Council to call a press conference to condemn the Fire Department (which is still reeling after the release of one of those ubiquitous “reports” last month attacking its “white male domination” and discriminatory hiring and promotion practices). City Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas overcame his chromosomes to declare dramatically that the tape “speaks to the very issue of institutional sexism.” And according to Councilwoman Jackie Goldberg’s thumbs-down review: “In my opinion that tape is the essence of a hostile environment.”

No, actually, raging and uncontrollable fires are the essence of a hostile environment. And what the tape really speaks to are the discouraging but undeniable physical handicaps women face in the world of firefighting. One scene shows a pair of female recruits dangling from a six-foot wall, unable to scale the barrier without assistance. (A male recruit vaults over the wall between them easily.) Another scene shows a

female recruit fighting desperately to lift a wooden ladder; she is successful only after a few other recruits and supervisors, all male, come to her aid.

Yet another scene shows a female recruit lumbering up a 100-foot ladder, hampered by a chain saw over her shoulder, a 40-pound air bottle on her back, and an ax strapped to her waist. Unable to manage her gear, the woman becomes entangled in one of the ladder rungs and has to be rescued by her peers. Then there’s the somewhat amusing episode involving a group of women trying to chop wood. After a number of ineffective swings the women simply give up, exhaustedly dropping their axes on the unsplintered logs.

A handful of failed female recruits are now filing charges with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, to protest the rigorous training policies of the Los Angeles Fire Department. It’s all part of an anti-woman “vendetta,” fumed one female dropout at a televised press conference. Another accused the department of “setting [women] up to fail.” But how much good would it do the tax-paying public if firefighter training programs set up its recruits—male or female, tall

or short, black or white—to succeed, regardless of qualification?

Maybe it was a mistake to allow widespread interdepartmental circulation of the tape, which was “intended to be a sort of bloopers-like video,” according to one LAFD captain. The Fire Chief has already ordered that the tape no longer be shown. It’s certainly true that the struggling female recruits don’t deserve ridicule. But neither, certainly, do they deserve firefighting jobs!

Since 1974, the city of Los Angeles has enforced an impossible 50 percent quota for female and minority recruits. To comply with the consent decree, the city has waived written tests for some and lowered its physical fitness standard for others. In short, it has endangered the lives of the tax-paying public, not to mention the firefighters themselves, in implementing affirmative action policies. Last spring, the City Council ordered the Fire Department to take even stronger steps to ensure a “work force which is representative of the community it serves.”

GOD forbid! Most of us are incapable of the extraordinary feats of courage and strength that firefighters (and police officers, paramedics, and others who perform emergency services) must execute daily. We should demand that they be physically and mentally superior to, not representative of, the rest of us. In times of crisis we want them saving us—not each other.

Similarly dumb is the argument that the public will benefit from more women in the fire house (ditto the police station) because they will provide needed increased “sensitivity.” In times of emergency, we want firefighters who will lend a hand, not just offer a hand to hold.

None of this is to say there aren’t women in Los Angeles truly capable of fighting fires. If the City Council were really serious about gender diversity on the basis of merit, they would drop the quotas, raise the barriers, and hire the casting director of *American Gladiators* as the next fire chief. Speaking personally, I’d trust my life to Nitro’s firm grip any day.

—MICHELLE MAGLALANG MALKIN



“Before I say anything, I was wondering if you guys still have a ‘girl in every port,’ or is that a pre-Tailhook thing?”

Michelle Maglalang Malkin is a freelance journalist in Los Angeles.

Why Are Catholics Such Whiners?



You've heard it a zillion times: flaky nuns whining because they can't be priests, homosexuals demanding that the Church approve their "lifestyle," radical feminists bellyaching because God is our Father and the Church isn't "prochoice," dissenting theologians shooting their mouths off and berating the Pope.

Why so many whiners and complainers in the Church? If they're in such "pain," as they claim, why don't they seek out greener pastures? Surely it's not uncharitable — though it may be cheeky — to articulate such a *painfully* obvious question!

Recently, New Age-style Catholic priest, Matthew Fox, in an act of exemplary honesty, became an Anglican. No doubt he's much happier now. At about the same time, the Duchess of Kent and the former Bishop of London left Anglicanism to become Roman Catholics. Consider it a kind of "prisoner exchange." (We Catholics got a whale of a good deal here — but that's another story.)

The realignment of Christianity is picking up steam, something we at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW have been advocating ("cheekily," according to *Newsweek*) for years. We take our name from the 19th-century Oxford Movement in England, and our inspiration from the pioneering "papist" pilgrim,

John Henry Newman. We are the forum for the new generation of converts to Rome. Among the converts who've written for us are Walker Percy, Russell Kirk, Sheldon Vanauken, Peter Kreeft, George Rutler, Thomas Howard, Ronda Chervin, and Paul Vitz. And we rejoice in the illustrious converts who've enriched the Church throughout history — Augustine, Chesterton, Maritain, Dawson, Muggeridge, Ronald Knox, Dorothy Day, and many more.

But we're not just for converts. Most of our writers are cradle Catholics, and a significant minority are solid Christians from other churches. We foster an ecumenism of the highest common denominator, not the lowest. And we cover the full range of contemporary issues, including the quest for a more just and responsible society, while refusing to be a captive of any political ideology. We've been acclaimed by *Utne Reader* (the magazine-watching journal) as "original" and by Lutheran luminary Martin E. Marty as "lively."

If you're a cradle Catholic with spiritual batteries that need recharging, if you're a new Catholic, or if you're just curious, taste the rebirth of Catholic orthodoxy by giving us a try!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription \$14 (regularly \$19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription \$12 (regularly \$16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription \$23 (regularly \$35)

- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription US\$24 (regularly \$29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars
- ☐ Sample copy \$3.50

Send coupon or letter. Make check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 78
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706



NAME (Please print or type)

STREET ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

Chicago psychiatrist Helen L. Morrison has done the most intensive clinical interviews of serial killers. Director of Chicago's Evaluation Center, Dr. Morrison interviewed her first serial killer in 1975 out of intellectual curiosity. He was Richard Macek, known as the Mad Biter because of the bite marks he left on the flesh of young women he tortured and murdered in Illinois and Wisconsin. Expecting a monster, she found a short, stocky man who treated her "as if we were sisters or bored housewives chatting away while our husbands spoke of business."

She interviewed Macek for 400 hours during the next year. He had committed rapes and rape-murders that included stabbing, drowning, strangulation, mutilation, biting, and necrophilia in various combinations. His attacks were ritualistic. He tied his victims with precise knots, cut symmetrical lines on their flesh, bit them, and took souvenirs. The rituals appeared to be a sort of "magical insurance" against further loss of control.

To date Dr. Morrison has studied 45 serial murderers around the world and interviewed the wives and relatives of many. On her first 8 cases alone she conducted more than 8,000 hours of interviews. Her specimens have included John Wayne Gacy, murderer of 33 young men and boys, with whom she spent 800 hours and at whose trial she testified. Typically, the killers had committed 10 to 30 murders each. Their victims were "chosen preconsciously," with an uncanny resemblance to one another. The murders were sadistic, sexual, and strikingly similar.

"These are basically cookie-cutter people, so much alike psychologically I could close my eyes and be talking to any one of them," says Dr. Morrison. "They are phenomenally alike in the way their psychology is set, the way they function, and how they're misdiagnosed."

In her view, the psychological development of serial killers has stopped at about six months of age. Whatever the cause of this impairment, Dr. Morrison says, the evidence suggests it is fixed in the first year of life. They do not make the transition child-development specialists call individuation, in which the infant realizes he is separate from his mother and surroundings. "As an infant," she says, "the future serial murderer cannot

develop the ability to differentiate himself into a separate, distinct personality. He cannot distinguish himself from others; he cannot distinguish a human being from, say, a chair, or any other inanimate object."

Like a baby exploring the world, the serial murderer explores killing. Murder to him is no more than child's play, like taking apart a clock to see what makes it tick. Dr. Morrison hopes her research will lead to techniques allowing earlier recognition and apprehension of these beasts in human form. Her views are not popular with her professional colleagues, who do not want to believe there are incurable cases beyond their therapeutic powers. "When he is finally put in prison," she says of the serial killer, "he must never be released."

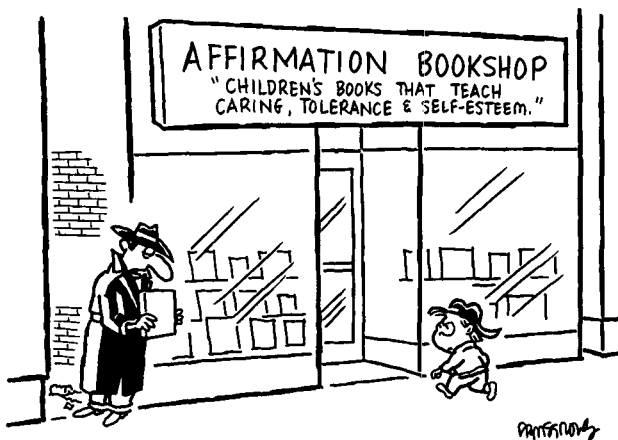
Enter the Feds

THE FBI got into the business of interviewing imprisoned serial killers after two psychiatrists demonstrated the practical crime-solving advantages of understanding the aberrant behavior patterns of compulsive criminals. New York psychiatrist James A. Brussel astounded the law-enforcement world with his uncannily precise 1956 forecast of the personality of Manhattan's Mad Bomber, George Metesky. Among other things, he correctly predicted that when arrested the mystery bomber would be wearing a double-breasted suit, neatly buttoned.

Dallas psychiatrist David G. Hubbard helped stop the 1968-72 skyjacking wave by interviewing virtually every skyjacker in captivity and designing techniques to take them apart psychologically and thwart their fantasies of power and control. Hubbard guided the airlines in a training program that enabled pilots and flight attendants to abort 42 consecutive skyjackings and stamp out the wild fad. From a rate of seven or eight a month, Hubbard-trained air crews cut skyjackings to zero, a full six months before metal detectors were installed in the nation's airports.

The spectacular successes of Brussel and Hubbard induced the FBI to create a Behavioral Sciences Unit at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, which evolved into the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC). In 1978 agents began interviewing imprisoned assassins and serial killers, most of whom were flattered and happy to talk about themselves. In six years the agents talked to 38, including Charles Manson, Sirhan Sirhan, Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme (who tried to shoot President Ford), David Berkowitz (Son of Sam), Ted Bundy, and Ed Gein, whose exploits in the 1950s helped inspire both *Psycho* and *The Texas Chain-saw Massacre*.

Today FBI researchers have studied more than a hundred serial murderers, plus scores of serial rapists; and agents with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms have interviewed dozens of serial arsonists. They find an astonishing common denominator. One study of 36 murderers showed 58 per cent set fires as children, 52 per cent set fires as adolescents, and only 8 per cent set fires as adults. They made a choice, moving to mur-



"Hey, kid—want to buy an uncensored copy of *Hansel and Gretel*?"

der as more fulfilling. David Berkowitz set 1,412 fires, then switched to killing because it provided more excitement and power and gave him command of the front pages and TV newscasts.

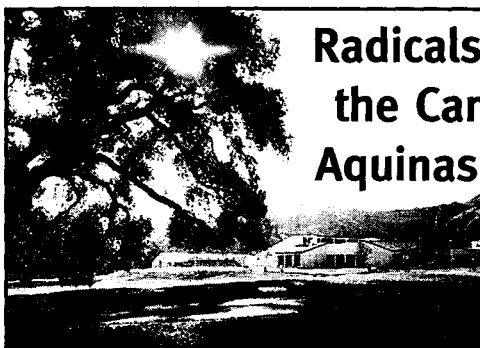
The killer who taught the FBI the most was Ted Bundy. Articulate, with an IQ of 125, he compared his crimes to those of other serial killers, pointed out differences, and explained why he made certain choices. During a hunt for one such killer, Bundy advised staking out locations of the murderer's former crimes. He correctly predicted that the killer would revisit the scenes to relive the experiences and look for mementos.

Two cases show how FBI agents put their new knowledge to work. In a small Midwestern city, citizens were terrified by the grisly sex murder of a young woman, whose mutilated body was found in a public park near her home. Police pronounced themselves stumped, without a single clue or lead. The chief of detectives put in a call to John Douglas, a pioneer psychological profiler who today heads the NCAVC's investigative support unit. Over the phone the detective described the crime scene. "Put a microphone at the victim's grave and keep it under surveillance," Douglas suggested. Skeptical, the local cops nevertheless complied. They were astounded a couple of days later when a young man showed up soon after dark, dropped to his knees, and started apologizing to the victim for killing her. The cops arrested him and found some of the victim's jewelry in his pocket; at his apartment they found items of her bloody clothing. He was convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to death.

In Adairsville, Georgia, the body of 12-year-old Mary Stoner was found in the woods near her home in December 1979. She had been sexually assaulted, and her head had been crushed with a large rock. By telephone the sheriff in this little mountain community consulted Douglas and described the scene. It was not much to go on. However, Douglas responded: "The killer will probably be a divorced white man in his mid twenties, will drive a black or blue car and work at a macho laborer's job. You'll probably find he had some prior contact with the victim. He'll probably be a high-school dropout who served in the Army or Marines, but he probably got a medical or dishonorable discharge after fewer than six months in service. I think he'll have a previous record of

sex crimes. And if you put him on a lie detector, the test will be inconclusive or show no deception at all."

The sheriff was amazed. "You just described a suspect we just released!" he declared. Douglas suggested interviewing the man again, following a subtle interrogation technique that he detailed to the sheriff. The man was Darrell Gene Devier. As predicted, he showed no deception in a polygraph examination. At all points, his resemblance to Douglas's profile was uncanny. He worked as a tree-limb cutter, drove a dark blue Pinto, was an eighth-grade dropout, and had been kicked out of the Army with a general discharge after less than a year's service. He was divorced at the time of the killing. Other evidence implicated him in an attempt to rape a 13-year-old girl in a nearby town before Mary Stoner's murder. Witnesses testified that Devier's crew had worked at the Stoner home before the murder and that Devier



Radicals Have Taken Over the Campus at Thomas Aquinas College

ACTUALLY, THEY'VE BEEN THERE FROM THE BEGINNING

"RADICAL" comes from the Latin *radicalis*—HAVING ROOTS—and at Thomas Aquinas College we offer an education that is radical in the purest sense.

Our curriculum is rooted in the cumulative and hard-won wisdom of 2500 years of Western thought. The thought that launched heroic voyages of discovery and has created music and literature of unsurpassed beauty and power. The thought that raised reason above superstition and virtue above primitive passion.

Our students are rooted in this thought by studying the original works of the greatest minds of our tradition, men

who for the sake of a higher calling offered radical alternatives to the popular prejudices of their day—men like Socrates, Dante, St. Thomas Aquinas, the Founding Fathers of our nation.

And because we are an authentically Catholic college, our intellectual life is guided and nourished by the Magisterium of the teaching Church.

Real radicals have roots. Join us by calling Tom Susanka, our Director of Admissions, at 800/634-9797, or write to our Admissions Office, Thomas Aquinas College, Box 105, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, CA 93060.

THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE

had made sexual remarks about the girl. In an extensive interview, Devier confessed. Testimony about his confession was admitted at his March 1982 trial, and a jury convicted him and sentenced him to death for rape and murder.

The FBI developed the interrogation technique that elicited Devier's confession through many interviews with lust killers. They had discovered that the lust murderer can often pass a polygraph examination because he so deeply represses his memory of the crime that he does not have any conscious recollection of it. Hence, he may not display the normal physiological "stress" reactions that the polygraph records. But he may be haunted by seeping recall that appears in the form of dreams or a belief that he was a witness who saw someone else murder the victim. Thus, like Ted Bundy, he may be able to describe details only the actual killer could know. Careful questioning can break open this shell of self-deceit. That happened in Devier's case. Sometimes it is as simple as giving the suspect paper and pen and asking him to write down in careful detail what he "saw" the murderer do. He may then direct police to the murder weapon, items of the victim's clothing, or body parts he has stashed away.

An important advance, as many of these cases show, would be countering the killers' mobility through greater sharing of information among jurisdictions. As part of the 1994 omnibus crime bill, Senator Orrin Hatch got Congress to approve \$20 million for the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP), a nationwide computer network designed to identify and track serial criminals. VICAP had officially become operational back in May 1985, but it has languished because it was underfunded and because local police balked at filling out complex questionnaires on their unsolved cases. With about five thousand unsolved murders a year, by 1989 the VICAP data bank should have contained information on twenty thousand cases. In fact, only five thousand had been entered.

The new money will help develop computer systems and satellite links between Quantico and ten cities so that local police can confer directly with the NCAVC analysts. VICAP manager Greg Cooper urges Congress to

require local police to report their unsolved violent crimes to VICAP, as they now must do for the FBI for its Uniform Crime Reports. If this happens, and VICAP becomes fully operational, the one-third of homicides in America that go unsolved could be cut to 5 or 10 per cent, Cooper believes.

From Fantasy to Murder

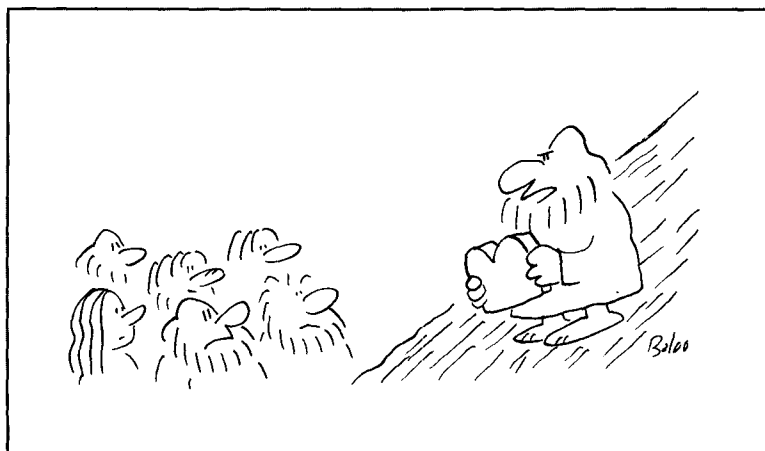
PROBE as they might, the FBI interviewers cannot truly "explain" serial killers. Here we come up against the age-old theological issue of free will versus predestination, and the eternal mystery of evil. After all, thousands of young men in America match the family constellations and emotional patterns mapped by the researchers. Very few of them move from fantasy to murder.

Edmund Kemper, the Co-Ed Killer, personified the pattern as well as anyone. Supposedly traumatized by a domineering mother (one biographer notes that a number of American Presidents have had mothers as "domineering" as Kemper's), at the age of 14 he shot his grandmother "to see what it would feel like to kill," then killed his grandfather as he came home so that he would not be upset. For those murders Kemper spent five years in California's Atascadero State Hospital for the criminally insane. During his stay there Kemper worked in the hospital's psychology laboratory as a crew leader, supervised by a clinical psychologist. With an IQ of 136, he imbibed a lot of knowledge. When he was 19 his mother, whose parents he had murdered, got him paroled in her custody.

When she petitioned to have his juvenile murder record sealed, Kemper had to see a psychiatrist, who concluded, "I see no psychiatric reason to consider him a danger to himself or any other member of society." At the time of the examination, Kemper had a severed head stowed in the trunk of his car. After six co-ed murders, Kemper slaughtered his own mother, invited her best friend to come over and help him plan a surprise birthday dinner, and killed the friend too. He cannibalized his mother, then got in his car and drove aimlessly eastward, eventually calling police and begging them to arrest him before he killed again.

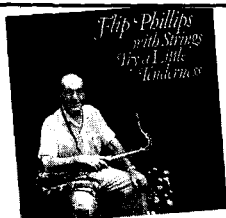
In 1978 FBI interviewers John Douglas and Robert Ressler, aware of Kemper's high IQ and sophistication in psychology, asked him where he thought he would fit in the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, then in its second edition. Kemper had read the manual, did not find a description that fit him, and did not expect to until psychiatry had advanced considerably. "When would that be?" Ressler asked. When the *DSM* is in its sixth or seventh edition, Kemper answered—some time in the next century.

Kemper may be right. But research now under way is advancing the quest for that understanding and for the law-enforcement techniques to exploit it. □



"It doesn't matter whether they're victimless or not!"

Fine Jazz Recordings from

CHIAROSCURO RECORDS

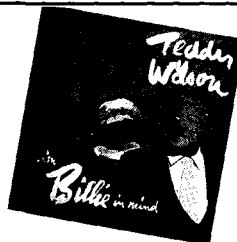
The renowned tenor saxophonist performs those classic melodies that, even without lyrics, can leave a lump in the throat.

◆ *Try A Little Tenderness* ◆ *A Cottage For Sale* ◆ *Violets for Your Furs* ◆ *I'm Glad There Is You* ◆ *You Don't Know What Love Is* ◆ *This Is All I Ask* ◆ *Street Of Dreams* ◆ *All The Way* ◆ *Dream*

◆ **Goodbye** ◆ Plus four more hits! **CD 101, \$14.95**

The historic 1972 recording by Teddy Wilson where the impeccable jazz pianist recaptures 20 songs he had recorded in the 1930s with the ultimate jazz vocalist: Billie Holiday (includes six previously unissued titles!).

◆ What A Little Moonlight Can Do ◆ This Year's Kisses ◆ Easy To Love ◆ When You're Smiling ◆ Sugar ◆ Body and Soul ◆ If You Were Mine ◆ Nice Work If You Can Get It ◆ Them There Eyes ◆ I Cried For You ◆ I'll Get By ◆ Plus nine more hits! CD 103, \$14.95



GERN MULLIGAN'S
NEW SEAT
IDOL
GOSSIP

The great saxophonist and composer and his five sidekicks serve up a special musical menu of new and jazzed-up classics that run from the very hot to the *très* cool.

♦ *Idol Gossip* ♦ *Strayhorn*
 ♦ *Walk on Water* ♦ *Waltzing*
Mathilda ♦ *Out Back of the*
Barn ♦ *North Atlantic Run*
 ♦ *Taurus Moon* ♦ *Just Want to*
Sing and Dance Like Fred
Astaire

CD 104, \$14.95

Mama Mia!: a quintet of jazz greats – Gene Krupa, Eddie Condon, Kenny Davern, Wild Bill Davison, and Dick Wellstood – team up for this once-in-a-lifetime 1972 recording at New York's New School. Attendance is a must. Take your seat and no talking (just delightful listening!).

♦ *I Want To Be Happy* ♦ *Sugar* ♦ *Shim-
Me-Sha-Wabble* ♦ *Avalon* ♦ *That Dada Strain* ♦ *Blue In C* ♦ *The
Mooche* ♦ *I Can't Believe That You're In Love With Me* ♦ Plus
two more hits! CD 105, \$14.95

Considered by many the world's premier bass player, Milt Hinton and a host of musical greats, including Lionel Hampton, Cab Calloway, and Dizzy Gillespie, combine talents to produce this very special two-disc collection of jazz and blues classics.

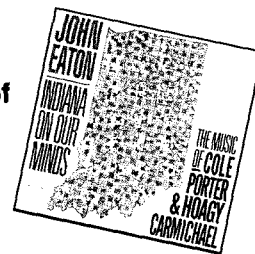
♦ *Old Man Time* ♦ *Time After Time*

◆ *Sometimes I'm Happy* ◆ *A Hot Time In*

*The Old Town Tonight ♦ Heart of My Heart ♦ It Don't Mean A
Thing If It Ain't Got That Swing ♦ Blue Skies ♦ Slap Happy*

◆ Plus seven more hits!

Two-Volume: CD 107-08, \$24.95



The incomparable jazz pianist John Eaton turns his talents to tinkling out the classic tunes of two very distinct Hoosier State musical giants: Messers Porter and Carmichael. A brilliant and flawless performance!

◆ *Stardust* ◆ *I Love You* ◆ *Anything Goes*
◆ *One Morning In May* ◆ *Easy To Love*
◆ *Washboard Blues* ◆ *Dream Dancing*
◆ *The Nearness Of You* ◆ *My Resistance*
Is Low ◆ *Baltimore Oriole* ◆ *Rockin'*
Chair ◆ *Night And Day* ◆ *Love For Sale* ◆
From This Moment On ◆ *Lazy Bones*
◆ *Memphis In June* CD 102, \$14.95



One of the most graceful stylists in jazz history takes some favorite tunes, caresses them with ivory, and turns out an unsurpassed recording.

◆ *Tea For Two* ◆ *Manhattan*
◆ *A Foggy Day* ◆ *Over the
Rainbow* ◆ *A Nightingale Sang
In Berkley Square* ◆ *If He
Walked Into My Life*
◆ *Honeysuckle Rose* ◆ *Mack
The Knife* ◆ Plus eight more
hits!

CD 106, \$14.95



An ambitious undertaking—a *tour de force* performance of four works by the great Buck Clayton—that is a true jazz triumph. Earl Hines, Milt Hinton, Doc Cheatham, Joe Newman, Urbie Green, Earle Warren, Zoot Sims.

Budd Johnson, Joe Temperley, Gus Johnson - this Murderer's Row of talent makes the sweetest jam your ears ever ate.

◆ *Boss Blues* ◆ *Case Closed* ◆ *Lazy Blues*
◆ *Jayhawk*

CD 109, \$14.95

☐ YES! Please send me the following **National Review Jazz Music Club** compact discs. I enclose total payment of \$ _____:

CD No.	Title	Quantity	Amount
Subtotal			
Shipping and Handling			\$ 3.50
TOTAL			\$

Payment Method:

☐ Check enclosed

Bill my: ☐ MasterCard

☐ Visa

Acct. No.

Expir. Date

Signature

Make checks payable to National Review. Mail to: NR, 150 E. 35th St., NY, NY 10016.
Foreign Orders add \$4.00 per CD. NY residents add sales tax. Allow 3-6 weeks delivery.

12395



You Say You Want a Revolution

THE FRESHMEN

The new Republicans in the House and Senate come to Washington with a sense of conviction and purpose. Conservatives are pinching themselves. Can this be for real?

RICH LOWRY

RENOWNED for his imperious cigar waving, Texas Democrat Jack Brooks for years walked the halls of Congress with the swagger of the invulnerable. Last summer, he barred Representative Bill McCollum, the Republicans' designated negotiator, from talks on the crime bill, yelling, "Get out of here, Mac!" every time McCollum tried to enter the room.

During the televised Iran-Contra hearings in 1987, Brooks, then an 18-term congressman, held forth in his usual hectoring style, and people outside Washington got a chance to watch him in action. "I was appalled by his behavior," says Steve Stockman, an accountant at the time. "I resolved that as long as Brooks continued to run, and as long as I'm alive, I'd continue to run against him."

In 1990 Stockman mounted a long-shot candidacy that failed even to win the Republican nomination. Two years later he got his chance against Brooks and finished strong, taking 43 per cent of the vote. That told him he could win the next time around. In 1994 he converted his home into his campaign headquarters. He knew he was drawing blood when Brooks felt it necessary to respond to one of his campaign flyers with a TV spot. Outspent roughly 6 to 1, Stockman beat Brooks by 8 points, winning his congressional seat on the Gingrich plan: victory on the third installment.

In Washington, the easygoing Stockman has been treated to non-stop admonitions from conservative groups that he'd better not "sell out," that it

was their issues that got him here. "I don't think you're going to see me on the sidelines being a squish," Stockman says with a chuckle. So uninterested is the Texan freshman in traditional Washington "governing" that he'd prefer to be back on the campaign trail, slaying some other liberal giant. For now, he'll content himself with trying to figure out a way to abolish the Internal Revenue Service.

"For the first time in my life I've felt like a liberal," quipped former Representative Vin Weber after a weekend at the congressional freshman orientation sponsored by the Heritage Foundation and Empower America. "And it feels good." Peppered with unconventional politicians like Stockman—about half of the 73 freshmen have never held elective office before, and less than a third are lawyers—the GOP's newest members are a true departure. Not only are they conservative, they are determined to act on their convictions, quickly and without compromise.

Longtime activist Paul Weyrich, president of National Empowerment Television, has been involved in orientations for Republican freshmen since 1972. "Inevitably," says Weyrich, "we would hear from the audience of just-elected members, 'Well, that's interesting, but let's be practical about it. Maybe you guys live in an ivory tower, but we've got to survive.'" Even in 1992, one Heritage Foundation speaker making the case for cutting congressional perks got a cold reception from new members anxious to preserve their means to re-election. This year the same speaker got complaints from

freshmen that he "was not radical enough. Why not do away with all franking?"

The future success of the GOP in Congress may well depend on these, its newest and most eager members. In the most obvious sense, if most of the freshmen don't return to Washington in 1996, neither will the Republican majority. But more fundamentally, the freshmen *are* the revolution of 1994. It's no exaggeration to say that talk radio and the grass-roots groups that have had such an impact on Washington during the last year now have 73 of their listeners and members taking congressional seats. (Rush Limbaugh calls the freshmen the "dittohead caucus.") If they—and their constituents—aren't satisfied with the pace of change this year, the Republican revolution will have betrayed its makers.

Preening?

THIS standard does put a lot of faith in a group of untested politicians. "Their preening and chest-pounding," writes political analyst Charles Cook, "suggest that some in the group think of themselves as the cavalry, arriving just in time to save democracy in general and Congress in particular from certain death." The freshmen, of course, have yet to cast a tough congressional vote or get a real taste of the Washington power they vow to eschew. But the new Republicans survived often vicious campaigns by clinging to the raft of anti-government ideas embodied in the Contract with America. Notes Weyrich: "This group says, 'We came for a pur-

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.

pose. We didn't expect to be elected. We got elected because we stood for something."

Capitol Hill heard similar talk just two years ago, when a Democratic freshman class nearly as large (63 members) as 1994's GOP crop came to Washington in the spirit of Jimmy Stewart's Mr. Smith. One of the premier reformers was Ohio Representative Eric Fingerhut, who with fellow freshman Karen Shepherd (Utah) pushed for bold changes in the committee system. To no avail. "The leadership was unwilling to challenge the power of the individual committee chairs," says Fingerhut. "Speaker Foley believed if you took on these internal issues, there'd be so much resistance, so much blood on the floor . . . that it would have made progress impossible on the substantive issues." The Democratic fiefdoms remained intact, helping slow, among other things, the march toward health-care legislation (five different congressional committees had jurisdiction). In the end, the 103rd Congress had little to show for itself—and neither did its freshman class. "Our leadership didn't get the fact that they wouldn't be in the majority if enough of us didn't succeed," says Fingerhut. "They took down a generation of new congressmen."

The GOP freshmen are mindful of the lesson. "Their leadership evidently didn't allow them the same input we've had," says Representative Sue Myrick (N.C.), one of two freshman liaisons to the GOP leadership. The freshmen join a Republican House conference already on record as supporting internal reform; many of the measures lonely Democrats like Fingerhut pushed after the 1992 elections are in the Contract with America. The GOP leadership has reached out to the freshmen in tangible ways too, handing them two-thirds of the open spots on the prized Appropriations, Commerce, and Ways and Means Committees. "We had to push for it," says J. D. Hayworth, the former Arizona sportscaster who is one of three freshmen on the steering committee that made the assignments. Ways and Means Chairman Bill Archer (Tex.), in particular, was reluctant to give unproven members one of Congress's toughest assignments. But by the end of the day, Ways and Means, which had been without a freshman member since 1966, had three. Speaker Newt Gingrich, says freshman steer-

ing-committee member Zach Wamp (Tenn.), was "the ace in our hole during this whole process."

The Gingrich Squeeze

GINGRICH is making a squeeze play. The cautious middle of the Republican conference, the committee chairmen and longer-serving members, find themselves bracketed between the hard-charging Gingrich-Armey leadership above and the empowered, aggressive freshmen below; the hope is that there will be no place for them to go—except along. And the plum committee assignments are also good politics. New Pennsylvania Congressman Phil English won election in a heavily Democratic district. He went to the leadership and cited his vulnerable seat and his experience with tax policy as executive director of the Pennsylvania Senate's Finance Committee. He got Ways and Means. The freshman committee assignments, says English, send "a clear message to the voters back home that these newcomers are playing a significant role."

Sending the same message is the lead that freshmen took on certain internal reforms, including eliminating the taxpayer-funded legislative service organizations (such as the Congressional Black Caucus) and the commemorative legislation (National Forest System Month, etc.) that had wasted so much congressional time. Freshmen didn't originate these reforms, but they were gung-ho about them. "They are the cannon fodder for the institutional revolution plotted by people who have been here a very, very long time," says one senior staffer.

The chief plotter, of course, is Speaker Gingrich, who is reaping substantial new power from the internal shake-up. That's why it's an important show of good faith that he volunteered to accept an eight-year term limit on the office of Speaker. As a way to decentralize power, "we imposed term limits on the committee chairmen," says South Carolina freshman Lindsey Graham. "Without going to the Speaker, you'd probably have done the opposite of what you wanted to achieve." Gingrich picked up the idea after Graham started talking about it publicly but before it gained real momentum among the freshmen.

Freshman senators are likely to

"Gingrich is coming to power with a plan." USA TODAY

Now get the video of the dynamic speech that's making waves across America...

NEWT GINGRICH'S "A VISION FOR AMERICA"

Speaker-elect Newt Gingrich sets the course for the future in **A Vision for America**, the pivotal speech -- as seen on C-SPAN -- that looks at the Contract with America, Welfare Reform, the World Market, Government Spending, and much more. A must for every conservative, and every American, you can have your own copy of **A Vision for America** for only \$25.00 direct from GOPAC. Get yours now, while supplies last!

☐ YES, please rush me ____ video copy(s) of **A Vision for America**. @ \$25.00 per copy (which includes all postage and handling charges). I enclose payment of \$ _____. Send my videos to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Payment: ☐ Check ☐ Money Order
☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Signature _____
Acct. No. _____
Expiration Date _____

Make Checks payable to GOPAC.
Mail to: GOPAC/Vision Video
440 First Street, NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001

Payments for video tapes are not contributions to GOPAC's federal political action committee; GOPAC will not use proceeds from videotape sales to contribute to candidates for either federal or non-federal office.

have much the same sort of influence as their House counterparts, though in subtler ways. There's already some grumbling among conservative staffers that Majority Leader Bob Dole has been slow out of the box; it's unclear what all the Senate working groups formed during the transition are accomplishing. "In the Senate conference," says Arizona Senator Jon Kyl, just up from the House, "there is still a fair amount of discussion . . . about how we will have to get used to the way things are and always have been. You don't hear that in the House now."

But the 11 Senate freshmen will be difficult to ignore. "You can't have 20 per cent of your guys [pushing for something] without doing it," says one leadership aide. Already term limits have been pushed ahead in the Senate schedule thanks to freshman impatience. And Senators John Ashcroft (Mo.), Fred Thompson (Tenn.), and James Inhofe (Okla.) have made it clear they won't happily put up with timidity. Says Thompson, "To the extent that we meet resistance on congressional reform or term limits, I'll press the issue."

For about a year the fault line in the congressional GOP has been subtly shifting from the traditional moderate-conservative split to a split between those who understand the mood in the country and those who don't. By the usual measures, for instance, Georgia Senator Paul Coverdell is a moderate—but he "gets it," and that makes him an ally of an aggressive GOP agenda. Both houses of Congress now have an infusion of members who, if they didn't understand, would still be sitting at home. "We were out there beating the bushes," says freshman Representative David Funderburk (N.C.). "We're the ones that are closer to . . . this new movement." Senator Inhofe, a commercial pilot, has attended 47 town meetings around Oklahoma since the election. "The one [theme] that is consistent," he says, "is that now we want to see results."

Freshman Zach Wamp asserts, "This class is bent on sticking to its guns on reform and the Contract." As long as they don't let Washington holster those arms, and if they're willing occasionally to train them on the feet of their more skittish colleagues, the freshmen of the 104th will, in two years, trade in the label "majority makers" for "majority maintainers." □

The EPA Defends a Smoking Ban

IMBALANCING ACT

Can the EPA be trusted to weigh the costs and benefits of environmental regulations?

JACOB SULLUM

ENVIRONMENTAL regulations cost Americans roughly \$150 billion a year, and we don't seem to be getting our money's worth. A study released last summer by the Harvard Center for Risk Analysis estimated that the Environmental Protection Agency's actions cost more than \$7.6 million for each year of life saved.

In response to such profligacy, many critics of the EPA argue that the agency should be forced to weigh the costs and benefits of regulations before implementing them. Newt Gingrich's Contract with America includes legislation that would impose such a requirement. But reformers who put their faith in cost-benefit analysis should take a look at the EPA's recent report on the impact of a nationwide smoking ban. They will see how easy it is to justify a regulation when you get to decide which costs and benefits to consider and how to measure them. The report suggests that, unless Congress establishes effective procedures for challenging the EPA's findings, cost-benefit analysis may simply become a cover for regulation as usual.

The EPA prepared its assessment of the Smoke-Free Environment Act, which would ban smoking in almost all buildings open to the public, at the request of the bill's author, Representative Henry Waxman (D., Calif.), then chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment. The report concluded that the ban could save \$39 billion to \$72 billion a year, mainly by preventing deaths due to secondhand-smoke exposure. Specifically, it projected that Waxman's bill would mean "an average reduction of 7,000 to 12,900 premature deaths per year over

the first 50 years, and approximately 7,500 to 13,000 thereafter."

These figures are based partly on the EPA's estimate that secondhand smoke causes about 3,000 lung-cancer deaths a year. There are reasons to question the EPA's conclusion that secondhand smoke causes lung cancer (see "Just How Bad Is Secondhand Smoke?," *NR*, May 16). But even if we accept that judgment, the death estimate is very soft. In its December 1992 report on secondhand smoke, the EPA conceded that "based on statistical variations, estimates as low as 400 and as high as 7,000 are possible." And even that range relies on several controversial assumptions, including the notion that there is no safe level of secondhand smoke.

The numbers for heart disease, which by the EPA's reckoning would account for the vast majority of premature deaths avoided and money saved through a smoking ban, are even shakier. The EPA took no position on the alleged link between secondhand smoke and heart disease in its 1992 risk assessment. After noting this, the cost-benefit analysis cited a 1991 review by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), which "concluded that the evidence suggested a possible link between exposure to ETS [environmental tobacco smoke] and an increased risk for heart disease of nonsmokers." (Emphasis added.)

There is good reason for such tentative language. In a review of the literature published in the January 1, 1992, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Kyle Steenland of NIOSH estimated that 35,000 to 40,000 people died of heart disease each year during the early 1980s because of exposure to

Mr. Sullum is *NR*'s articles editor.

secondhand smoke. But Steenland qualified this "crude estimate" with several important caveats. "A number of assumptions are involved in estimating the heart disease mortality due to ETS, adding an unfortunate level of uncertainty," he wrote.

Steenland called misclassification of former smokers as nonsmokers "potentially a serious problem" and noted that "due to the relatively slight increased risk of heart disease for passive smokers and the many factors known to affect heart disease, the possibility of uncontrolled confounding as a cause for the increased risk cannot be ruled out." (That is, the observed association between ETS and heart disease could in fact be due to other variables, such as diet and exercise.) Steenland added that his estimate was based on the assumption that any level of ETS poses some risk; if there is a threshold below which ETS has no effect, the number would be much lower.

This uncertainty did not faze the EPA. Noting that "reported estimates for the effect of ETS on heart disease fall in the range of 32,000 to 40,000 heart-disease deaths per year," the agency used the lower end of the range as a "high estimate." It cut this num-

ber in half to obtain a "low estimate." Then it made "an arbitrary additional adjustment of 75 per cent," yielding a range of 12,000 to 24,000 deaths a year. The report said such "conservative adjustments" are appropriate because "these estimates are substantial and because EPA . . . did not specifically address heart disease in its risk assessment." But the size of the estimates is irrelevant; the question is whether they're accurate. If they are, there is no need for "adjustments." If they're not, it's hardly "conservative" to take unreliable numbers and reduce them by an arbitrary amount, especially since it's not clear that ETS causes heart disease at all.

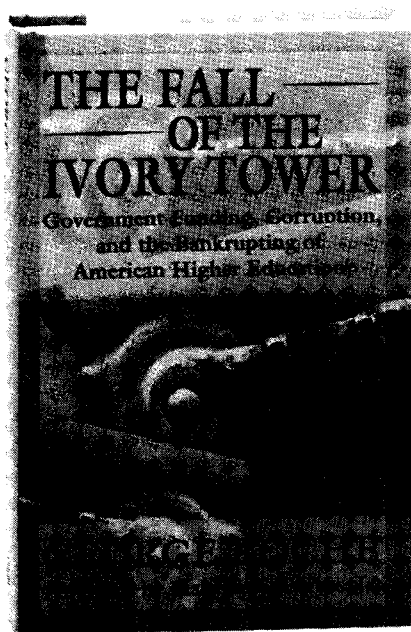
The EPA also broke new ground in estimating the smoking ban's impact on asthma. Its 1992 risk assessment said "the evidence is suggestive, but not conclusive, of a causal association" between secondhand smoke and asthma. Testifying before Waxman's subcommittee in July 1993, Morton Lippmann, chairman of the Science Advisory Board committee that reviewed the risk assessment, said "the data were insufficient to come to firm conclusions on causality" for "induction of asthma in previously asymptomatic

children." Yet the cost-benefit analysis attributed billions of dollars in savings to the prevention of asthma.

Defending the decision to include heart disease and asthma, David Muddarri, the analyst who prepared the report, argues that the standards for a cost-benefit analysis are looser than the standards for a risk assessment. He also notes that the analysis was not intended to justify EPA regulations. But it *was* intended to justify federal legislation imposing sweeping restrictions throughout the country. Given the clear policy implications, the EPA cannot disavow responsibility simply because it does not have the authority to regulate indoor air.

Deaths to Dollars

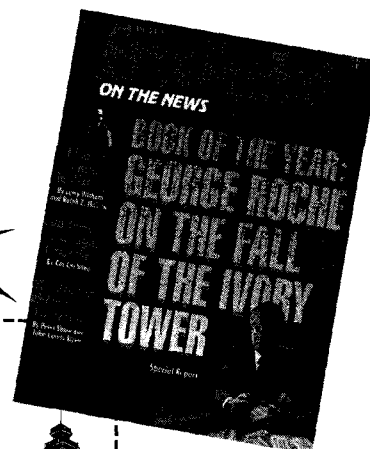
TO translate its estimate of the smoking ban's health effects into dollars, the EPA used data from surveys that ask people how much they are willing to pay to avoid premature death or disease. This technique is widely used to assess environmental regulations, and it has a certain intuitive appeal. But it's not clear how meaningful such "willingness to pay" figures are. The answers are en-



Regnery Publishing 259 pages Hardbound

This may be the scariest book you read this year.

And it's not about crime, drugs, or AIDS. It's about higher education.



ORDER TODAY BY MAIL OR CALL 1-800-437-2268

ORDER TODAY AND PAY ONLY \$20. (Regularly \$24.)

MI residents add 6% sales tax.

Name ☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Ms. ☐ Miss

Address

City/State/Zip

☐ Home ☐ Office

Order direct from Hillsdale College and save! Purchasers will also receive a free subscription to the monthly speech digest, *Imprimis*.

Mail book orders to:
The Hillsdale College Press
Hillsdale College
Hillsdale, MI 49242

HILLSDALE COLLEGE



The Fall of the Ivory Tower is featured as "Book of the Year" in an *Insight* magazine special report.

tirely hypothetical, since they do not consider *ability* to pay, an essential component of demand. "There are no constraints," observes Lynn Scarlett,

vice president for research at the Reason Foundation. "In the absence of transactions, you've got funny money."

We can get a better idea of the value

that people attach to avoiding the risk of exposure to secondhand smoke if we look at how they actually behave. Taking into account the possible health

Paying for the CFC Ban

WHEN the air conditioner in his minivan conked out last July, Earl Levy, a retired federal employee from Springfield, Virginia, was shocked by the \$450 repair bill. "It was quite a bit more than I expected," he says, "and the repairman told me the same procedure would have cost \$100 to \$150 less just two years ago." About 20 million car and truck owners had similar experiences last summer, spending at least \$2 billion more on air-conditioner servicing than in previous years. Future summers will be even costlier.

The reason: new environmental laws aimed at eliminating chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), a class of compounds widely used in air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment. Fears that CFCs deplete the ozone layer, which shields the earth from excessive ultraviolet radiation, have led to legislation requiring a rapid phaseout.

For now, CFC producers can make no more than 25 per cent of what they did in 1986, and all production comes to an end on January 1, 1996. Inadequate supply of CFCs, plus heavy excise taxes intended to discourage their use, has driven up prices more than tenfold. The labor costs for air-conditioner repairs have also increased as a result of a new requirement that service personnel take steps to reduce the amount of refrigerant that escapes into the atmosphere during servicing.

Furthermore, repairs on the nation's 43 million residential air conditioners now cost at least \$40 more each. And more than a million businesses, such as supermarkets, restaurants, and office buildings, will incur greater costs in maintaining existing air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment. These costs are

likely to result in higher food prices and higher rents in air-conditioned buildings. Soon after the end of production, perhaps as early as 1997, CFC stockpiles will be exhausted, and all remaining equipment dependent on them will have to be replaced or retrofitted to use CFC-free refrigerants. This will involve huge capital outlays and will also raise ongoing costs because the new and modified systems are less reliable than their CFC-based predecessors. If Mr. Levy's minivan air conditioner breaks down again in three years, the repair bill may top \$750.

The total cost over the next decade could reach \$100 billion. Yet the cost issue played only a minor role in the policy debate, which was dominated by predictions of imminent environmental catastrophe. The bureaucrats, activists, and government-funded researchers who supported the phaseout implied that costs are irrelevant when the future of the planet is in jeopardy. But many of these widely publicized doomsday claims have come under scientific attack, and their proponents have been forced to retreat.

In a February 1992 NASA press conference, for example, several scientists announced that a late-winter "ozone hole" (a sharp, short-lived decline in ozone levels) similar to the one over Antarctica was likely to appear over parts of North America. Within days, the Senate voted 96 to 0 to accelerate the CFC phaseout. A few months later, NASA admitted that the predicted ozone hole never materialized, claiming it was "averted" by an unexpected temperature increase. No such ozone hole occurred in 1993 or 1994 either. This reversal was ignored by many in the news media who had given extensive coverage to the original prediction, and it had no effect on the decision to accelerate the phaseout.

Even assuming that CFCs are reducing ozone levels, the change is

relevant to organisms only if it leads to a significant rise in ultraviolet B (UVB) radiation reaching the earth. But measurements have yet to establish a long-term upward trend in ground-level UVB, in part because the predicted impact of ozone depletion on UVB is very small in relation to natural variability.

The worst-case scenario would eventually result in a UVB increase of about 10 per cent over populated regions. Yet UVB increases by 5,000 per cent from the poles to the equator, as the sun moves directly overhead. The feared 10 per cent increase is equivalent to moving approximately 50 to 100 miles toward the equator—from New York City to Philadelphia, say. So it's not surprising that the frequently repeated apocalyptic predictions—declines in crop yields, a collapse of the ocean food chain, large increases in skin cancer and cataracts—are disputed by many scientists.

IF not for the pervasive ozone hyperbole, the CFC phaseout could have been more gradual and orderly. Owners of CFC-dependent equipment could have continued using it until it needed to be replaced and then purchased new, non-CFC systems in due course. The extra time also would have allowed manufacturers to improve upon the new generation of cooling equipment, which is still fraught with technical problems. Adding just five years to the transition period could have saved billions. Scrapyards filling up with perfectly good CFC-using components will attest to this.

Given the costs imposed on millions of unsuspecting consumers like Earl Levy, a public backlash is possible. It could lead Congress to relax the phaseout. At the very least, it should force advocates of a rapid phaseout to explain why they ignored costs when setting environmental policy.

—BEN LIEBERMAN

Mr. Lieberman is an environmental research associate at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

effects (as well as the annoyance), people *are* willing to dine in restaurants, fly in airplanes, and work in offices where smoking is permitted. They accept the costs in exchange for the benefits they get: food, transportation, employment. Indeed, as long as individuals are free to make such decisions for themselves, it's hard to see how a government-imposed ban can be justified on economic grounds.

Death and disease estimates account for nearly all the savings projected by the EPA, but there are several other alleged benefits of a smoking ban, all of them questionable. For example, the EPA claimed that employers would save \$4 billion to \$8 billion a year on office cleaning and maintenance. Mr. Mudarri concedes "there is not a lot of foundation" for that estimate: just one study of a single business, plus one or two anecdotal reports suggesting savings on the order of 10 per cent. Furthermore, as George Mason University economist Robert B. Tollison noted in congressional testimony last May, the EPA's numbers "defy common sense. If \$8 billion (or even \$4 billion) in employee-maintenance savings are readily available, why have American managers not captured those savings, transferring them directly to the bottom line?"

The same observation applies to projections of reduced absenteeism, lower insurance costs, or any other financial benefit that might result from banning smoking. If anyone cares about the costs associated with allowing smoking in the workplace, employers do. There is no reason to believe that the Federal Government is in a better position to assess the merits of a no-smoking policy than the business people who have to live with the consequences.

Where Are the Costs?

BOLD in estimating the benefits of a smoking ban, the EPA was suddenly reticent when it came to assessing the costs. It assumed, for example, that forcing employees outside for smoking breaks would not have a significant impact on productivity "because taking occasional breaks is already a normal part of the workday for most persons." But surely a smoking ban would tend to increase the frequency and duration of smokers' breaks. The EPA could have considered the experience of businesses in ju-

FOR INVESTORS:

MINIMIZE THE IMPACT OF TAXES

FREE TAX GUIDE

Our *Tax Considerations for Investors* guide helps you investigate ways to minimize your portfolio's tax burden.

T. Rowe Price has prepared this guide to assist you in identifying relevant tax issues and assessing their possible effects on your investment plans. The guide analyzes the tax implications of investing in stocks, bonds, mutual funds, retirement plans, and annuities. Although we may not be able to simplify the tax maze for you, this guide will at least make it less of a mystery as you plot your investment course for the future.

**Call 24 hours for a free guide
1-800-541-6628**



Invest With Confidence

T. Rowe Price



TCG025350

T. Rowe Price Investment Services, Inc., Distributor.

"The best discussion of an issue whose time has clearly come."

—Pete du Pont

Voters in 22 states have imposed term limits on their congressional representatives.

Would term limits improve government? Would they be constitutional? *The Politics and Law of Term Limits* presents both sides of those questions and lets the reader decide.

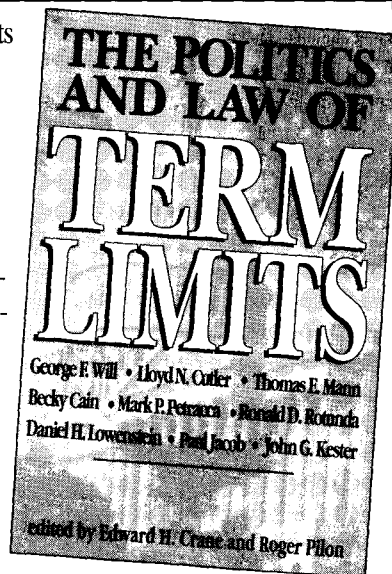
Contributors include syndicated columnist **George F. Will**, League of Women Voters president **Becky Cain**, U.S. Term Limit executive director **Paul Jacob**, **Thomas E. Mann** of the Brookings Institution, constitutional scholar **Ronald D. Rotunda**, former White House counsel **Lloyd Cutler**, and attorney **John G. Kester**, who defended term limits this fall before the Supreme Court.

162 pp/\$10.95 paper/\$19.95 cloth.

Available at bookstores or call

1-800-767-1241
(noon-9 p.m. eastern, Mon.-Fri.)

1000 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001



CATO
INSTITUTE

risdictions that have already banned smoking in office buildings. Judging from all the smokers standing on the sidewalks, there must be *some* work that's not getting done.

The analysis also excluded costs imposed on smokers by the ban, including inconvenience and forgone pleasure. Mr. Mudarri notes that it would be hard to put a price tag on such considerations. But a good place to start would be an estimate of the impact that a smoking ban would have on cigarette purchases. Depending on what smokers use the money for instead, the loss could be quite substantial.

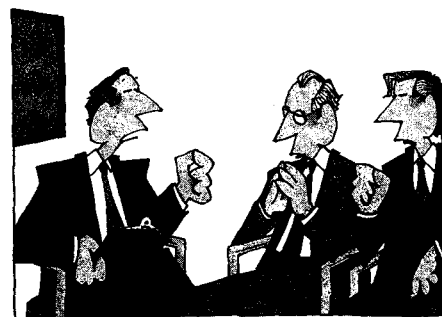
If the EPA had included such costs, or measured the value of reduced disease differently, or picked a lower number for heart-disease deaths, or decided that the link between ETS and heart disease was too speculative, the outcome of the analysis could have been dramatically different. The EPA might have arrived at a much lower net-benefit figure; it might even have found that the costs of a ban would outweigh the benefits.

Clearly, the outcome of a cost-benefit analysis hinges on which factors are considered and how they are measured. Those parameters are apt to be influenced, consciously or not, by the policy preferences of the people doing

the analysis. In this case, a powerful congressman with authority over the EPA asked the agency to weigh the costs and benefits of his own legislation. Given the inherent flexibility of cost-benefit analysis, it's hardly surprising that the agency was able to tell him what he wanted to hear. If the EPA is charged with assessing its own proposed regulations, the tendency to cook the books may be even greater.

The Contract with America addresses this problem in two ways. Under the proposed Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act, which requires the EPA to weigh the costs and benefits of new regulations, each analysis has to undergo peer review by a panel of independent scientists. Furthermore, individuals "adversely affected" by the EPA's failure to conduct a proper analysis can sue the agency (and recover lawyers' fees if they win). Another idea that deserves consideration is a proposal by Fred Smith, president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, to create an office within the EPA charged with criticizing proposed regulations.

Whatever the specifics, Congress should include safeguards in any legislation dealing with cost-benefit analysis. Otherwise, the benefits of this reform could approach zero. □



"Is it reasonable to assume, then, that the American people will never again elect a President who doesn't jog?"

tion, senior Republican legislators have assumed the lead role formerly held by vanquished Speaker Tom Foley in trashing term limits. This has put the party apparatus in an awkward position, since a first-ever floor vote on term limits is a central promise of the Republican Contract with America. It's right there in black and white under the heading, "Replacing Career Politicians with Citizen Legislators."

Mr. Smith Stays On

Apparently not all Republicans really believe that career politicians should be replaced with citizen legislators. The GOP, after all, has its fair share of politicians who have come to view their congressional seats as a sort of lifetime entitlement. Speaker Newt Gingrich (Ga.) and Senator Phil Gramm (Tex.) are at best lukewarm to the idea. Senate GOP veterans Orrin Hatch (Utah) and Mitch McConnell (Ky.) have resorted to recycling the Left's standard line that term limits would purge Congress of its "experienced legislators" (they mean this as a criticism) and that more power would wind up in the hands of unelected congressional staffers, career bureaucrats, and corporate lobbyists. The latter is a particularly unconvincing claim, since opinion polls reveal that the only people in America who oppose term limits are congressional staffers, career bureaucrats, and corporate lobbyists. It's doubtful that the three thousand or so Democratic staffers who were thrown out of work when their members were de-elected on November 8 are feeling very empowered right now.

Henry Hyde (R., Ill.), the skillful orator and new chairman of the House

Terms of Endearment

PUSH THE LIMITS

Republicans would be foolish to withdraw their support for term limits now that they're in power.

STEPHEN MOORE

LAST year, in a heated debate on congressional term limits, a veteran congressional Democrat pounded his fist on the lectern and complained that limiting terms would ultimately leave America with "a Congress of mediocrity." To his astonishment, the audience cheered. Most

Americans support term limits precisely because they think mediocrity would be a vast improvement.

But now come Republican majorities in both the House and the Senate for the first time since Strom Thurmond was in his fifties. We may have finally arrived at a Congress of mediocrity even without term limits.

At least congressional Republicans seem to think so. Ever since the elec-

Mr. Moore is director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute.

Judiciary Committee, has also stepped up the velocity of his objections to term limits. "When a crisis comes," argues Representative Hyde, "you want people who have been tested—and you don't get them out of a phone book."

It isn't exactly clear which recent crises Americans are supposed to be thankful we had experienced legislators around to rescue us from. The \$4-trillion debt crisis? The \$250-billion savings-and-loan crisis? The health-care inflation crisis? The House Bank crisis? Dan Rostenkowski's postage-stamp crisis? Not only have the experts in Congress not solved these crises, it was precisely the experts who created them. Most taxpayers see little risk that amateur politicians will do a worse job of managing the nation's financial affairs than the "people who have been tested." The 75 per cent of Americans who support term limits seem to be saying, in effect, "Yes, by all means—give us the names in the phone book."

After the election, House Majority Leader Dick Armey (Tex.) provoked an avalanche of irate phone calls by proclaiming that "if Republicans straighten out the House, the public's desire for term limits will be diminished." Armey quickly reaffirmed his support for term limits, but critics suspected he had simply said what most GOP congressional veterans were thinking: Term limits? Who needs them now?

Some Republicans have resorted to counterfeit term limits: six terms in the House. Newt Gingrich, who wants eight years as Speaker, says he is "deeply opposed to a three-term limit." Yet all but two of the term-limit measures passed by the states call for a three-term cap, which a Frank Luntz poll finds 82 per cent of voters support. At a recent rally, term-limit supporters booed Bill McCollum (R., Fla.), the lead sponsor of a weak term-limits measure in the House. As one protestor put it, "Six terms is a career."

Let Us Count the Ways

THERE ARE several reasons Republicans would be foolish to withdraw their support for term limits. First, term limits will lead to better policy results. A Cato Institute analysis shows that if only junior members of Congress (those with three terms or less in the House and two terms or less in the Senate) had voted during the past ten years, Congress

would have approved the balanced-budget amendment, the line-item veto, and Ohio Representative John Kasich's spending cuts. And Congress would not have approved the two largest tax hikes in history: Bush's and Clinton's. It was the veterans of both parties, the people who had been "tested," who blocked the former list of initiatives and provided the margin of victory for the latter. In other words, there is a culture of spending in Washington that tends to infect politicians as they stay there longer.

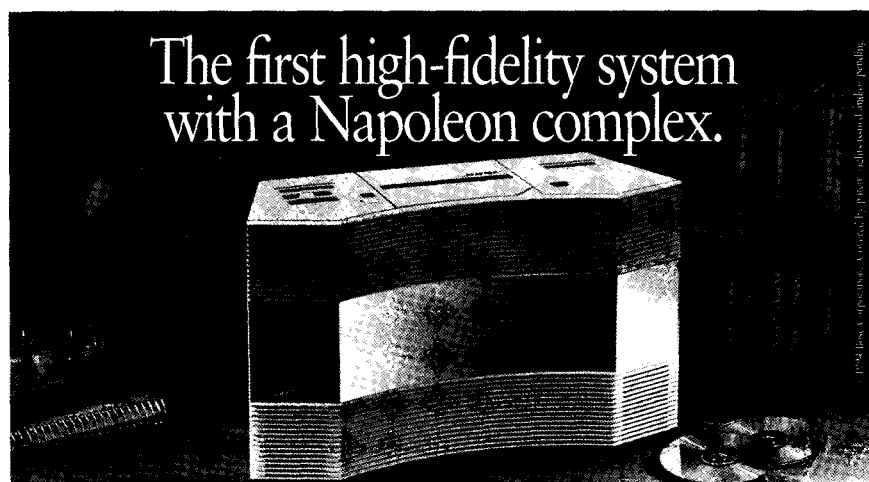
Moreover, the propensity to become friendlier to the tax-and-spend culture over time is more discernible for Republicans than for Democrats. As the party of government, Democrats tend to come to Washington comfortable with the concept of spending other people's money. For Republicans, it's a learned behavior. So the Republican takeover of Congress only strengthens the case for term limits.

Term limits would also allow voters to seize back power from Washington's professional ruling elite. Professional politicians are not healthy for a democracy. When people spend their whole lives in politics they become comfort-

able with command-and-control ideas that are alien to the rest of us. To put it another way, they end up thinking much like Bill Clinton and Al Gore.

The political process in America has a severe adverse selection bias, since those who devote their lives to elected office are likely to have a ruling-class mentality. As one board member of U.S. Term Limits puts it: "The kind of people in public office today are the same people who volunteered to be blackboard monitor in the sixth grade." By contrast, those of us who aren't interested in meddling in other people's affairs aren't likely to devote a lifetime to doing exactly that. A true citizens' legislature achieved through term limits would largely end the professionalization of politics and yield a Congress more representative of the views of the American public.

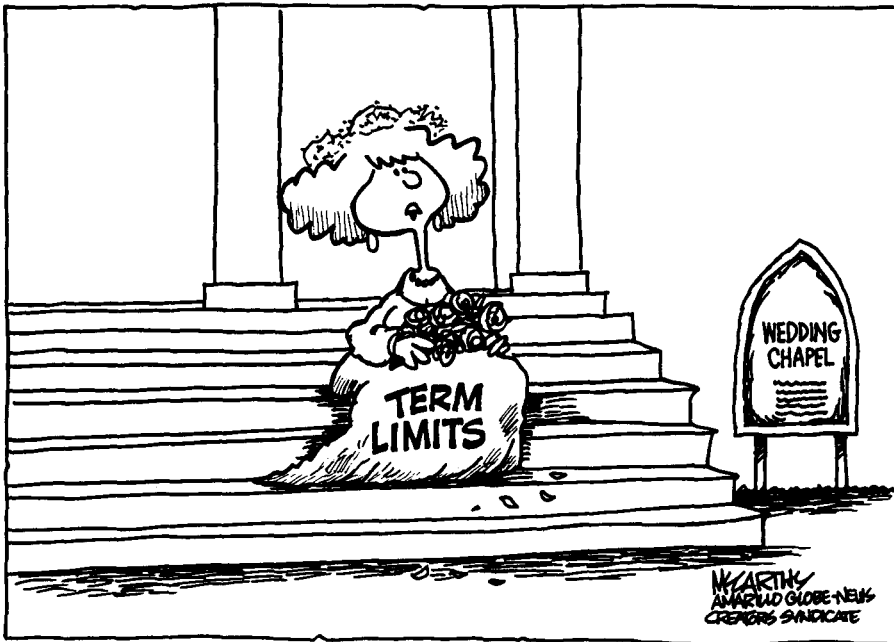
The more important reason for Republicans to get on the right side of this issue is that term limits are a fait accompli. By overwhelming margins, Americans in 22 states (even in New York City and Washington, D.C.) have proclaimed in the last four elections that they want term limits, and they will do whatever it takes to have



It may be small. But the Bose® Acoustic Wave® music system is definitely an overachiever. The unit holds a compact disc player (or cassette), AM/FM radio, and Bose's patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. And produces a rich, natural sound quality comparable to audio systems costing thousands of dollars. We know, that's hard to believe. So we're ready to prove it. Call or write now for our complimentary guide to this award-winning system. Because, like the system itself, it is only available **BOSE**®
Better sound through research®



Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____



them—regardless of what the courts, the Congress, or the Washington intelligentsia think about it.

In the last elections the term-limits movement showed itself to be an awesome political juggernaut. Americans for Term Limits was largely responsible for taking out Speaker Tom Foley, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks, and term-limits poster child Dan Rostenkowski. Although 91 per cent of incumbents who ran in 1994 won—this is the “record turnover” that term-limit opponents have been trumpeting—only 47 per cent of anti-term-limit incumbents were re-elected. Exit polls reveal that three out

of four voters said they were more likely to support a candidate who favored term limits. Republicans should get aboard the term-limits steamroller, not in front of it.

In 1994 U.S. Term Limits raised some \$1.3 million for voter education to help evict 23 anti-term-limit Democrats from Congress. In 1996 they are expected to raise twice that amount. Scott Rasmussen of the North Carolina Term Limits Coalition remarks that if the GOP blocks term limitation this year, “the political casualty will not be term limits; it will be the GOP.” He’s right. Americans like term limits more than they like Republicans. □

Showdown in Grozny

A ‘NORMAL’ NATION?

Unintended consequences are not always bad;
Chechnya could spell the end of Russian imperialism.

RADEK SIKORSKI

THE CRISIS in Chechnya has brought together some unlikely allies. It is not every day that Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, and the *New York Times* agree on something, as they do on the need to sort out Chechnya. Ranged against

them is an equally strange coalition of Moscow reformers, a few hard-line generals, most of the Russian press, the nationalist-dominated State Duma, and, apparently, most ordinary Russians.

Television pictures of wooden coffins

streaming back to Russia from Chechnya evoke comparisons with Afghanistan, and some parallels are indeed striking. Covert action has again failed to subdue an unruly mountain nation on Russia’s southern periphery. As then, an overwhelming conventional force has been thrown against poorly equipped but highly motivated rebels. Just as in 1979, the Russian people have not been consulted and do not approve. Perhaps more ominously, the invasion of Afghanistan on Christmas Eve and the invasion of Chechnya last week both occurred at the start of winter—against the Russian army’s own rule of thumb. Last but not least, in both cases it was assumed that the Russians must prevail.

A People to Bet On

MY BET is that they will again fail. Russian tanks can, of course, storm Grozny at any moment and establish a garrison. Chechnya is tiny in comparison to Afghanistan, let alone Russia. But taking Grozny will not be the end of the matter any more than taking Kabul was. Even without the Afghan experience of their ruler, Dzhokhar Dudayev, the Chechens know how to fight a guerrilla war. In the mid nineteenth century it took 300,000 Tsarist troops and 50 years of fighting before the Chechens were more or less subdued; at that, they were mostly allowed to live by their own ways. They nevertheless rebelled at least once in every generation: in 1860, 1864, 1877, 1918, 1928, and 1943. The present fighters are the children and grandchildren of that half of the Chechen nation which survived Stalin’s brutal wholesale deportation to Siberia and made it back home under Khrushchev. More than their parents and grandparents, they are likely to have it in for the Russians, unlike the Afghans, many of whom had been genuinely friendly with the Soviet Union for thirty years before the invasion. Also unlike the Afghans, they will not get CIA money and hardware, or bases in friendly nearby countries. But they have already found allies: the neighboring Ingush have apparently attacked one of the Russian armored columns, setting ablaze 30 vehicles. And if Dzhokhar Dudayev can survive and keep the re-

Mr. Sikorski is NR's roving correspondent.

sistance going, he will soon start drawing on the hundreds of millions of dollars of oil revenues his regime had stashed away in foreign bank accounts over the last three years.

Besides, the invasion has been botched. While some of the matériel is top of the line, some of the "tanks" that excited Western television reporters are in fact antiquated self-propelled guns and even anti-aircraft batteries—hardly the most useful weapon in fighting guerrillas. There are elite units among the estimated 40,000 to 80,000 troops, but most of the soldiers are bewildered teenage conscripts, whose morale will not last long. Even the Russian officer corps seems confused and reluctant. Incredibly for former Soviets, they had not banned the media from the theater of operation, a mistake further compounded by threatening the journalists already on the ground. As a result the whole world—and, more importantly, all Russia—could witness the surreal scene of an officer negotiating the passage of his tanks with a group of villagers. When they didn't budge, Major Ivan Babichev—who by doing so has clearly risked his career—stopped his armored column and said he would not massacre civilians.

Probably partly because of such cases of reluctance, the invasion stalled. The fits and starts gave the Chechens hope and stiffened their resistance. Once tanks became vulnerable in built-up areas, the defenders engaged them with rocket-propelled grenades, destroying dozens. Whoever wins in the end, the Chechen capital will be in ruins, with many hundreds dead on both sides. Casualties would have been lighter and Russia's loss of face smaller had the operation been done professionally—with one overwhelming airborne swoop on Grozny.

A Triumph for What?

ALTHOUGH Dzhokhar Dudayev was elected as president with 80 per cent of the votes, victory for him would not be a triumph for freedom and democracy. His regime is nothing less than the Chechen mafia in power—which is after all the norm over much of the former Soviet Union. Dudayev's gangsters have murdered journalists and officials who testified against the regime's stealing of Chechnya's oil wealth. One unfortunate con-

sequence of the Russian invasion is that it has already made this scoundrel into a national hero and delayed reforms by years. Ordinary Chechens have no choice but to rally to him in defense against the invader. They will suffer twice over.

The crumbling of the invasion could, however, benefit democracy in Russia. Most Russians seem to realize that the official explanation for the invasion—that it was necessary to put a stop to Chechen gangsterism and that Chechnya had to be brought back into the fold of the Russian Federation—is suspect. It does not take a genius to work out that the simplest way of inoculating Russia from the Chechen mafia would be to expel Chechnya and seal off Russia's border with it. Most Russians would regret it as much as New Yorkers would regret the disappearance of the South Bronx down a hole in the ground. Most are also reasonable in recognizing that the Chechens are different from them: ethnically, religiously, temperamentally, and historically. Asked a few weeks ago if Chechnya should be granted independence, 74 per cent of Russians sampled agreed, and only 5 per cent disagreed.

No less a Russian patriot than Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote of the Chechens in the Gulag: "Only one nation refused to accept the psychology of submission . . . no Chechen ever tried to be of service or to please the authorities."

What those Russians who oppose the invasion have grasped is that what is at stake in this crisis is not a tiny piece of troublesome territory, but the fate of Russia itself, its self-definition as a country. When the Soviet Union collapsed, the Russian elites and Russian people aspired to become a "normal" country, meaning a normal nation-state looking after its own people and living in peace with neighbors, shedding its imperial legacy. This is a hard enough ideal to achieve in the Russian Federation, a territory in which 100 ethnic groups rub uncomfortably against one another. But there is still a world of difference between Russia as a federal structure bound by treaties signed with some consent of its smaller ethnic groups—something like British India—and an empire ruled by autocratic fiat, even if in diminished borders. Parts of the ruling elite have recently slid back into the imperial



Complete 2-Year Set of SHORTEST U.S. DOLLAR SERIES SINCE 1795!

The only Dollar series with a shorter life than the Susan B. Anthony Dollar was the 1794-95 Flowing Hair - America's 1st Dollar!

The Anthony Dollar was released into general circulation for only two years - 1979 & '80. (In 1981 they were available only in Mint Sets.)

With this special offer you get all 6 regular issue Susan B. Anthony Dollars for only \$10! One mint Uncirculated coin from each of the 3 Mints (Philadelphia, San Francisco, Denver) which struck them in both years (1979 & '80) - an \$18.95 regular retail value!

Ridiculed by the public as the "Carter Quarter" the mini-dollar is fast becoming a prized collectible. Hard to put together now, a Complete 2-Year Set will get even harder. Clip the coupon below and send today! You'll also receive our free fully illustrated catalog, plus other offers on approval. Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back. DON'T DELAY! (Limit 4 sets.)



Celebrating Over 50 Years of Friendly Service to Collectors

©LCC

Susan B. Anthony - Six coin 1979 & 1980 All-Mint Set
Regularly \$18.95.....Now only \$10.00 per set (Limit 4 sets)

Send coupon with payment to:

Littleton Coin Company

Dept. LHO188,

Littleton, NH 03561

☐ Check or money order enclosed

Charge to my: ☐ VISA ☐ MC

☐ AMEX ☐ Discover

No. of sets (limit 4) _____ x \$10.00 per set = \$ _____

Shipping & Handling \$ **1.00**

Total enclosed \$ _____

Mr./Mrs./Ms. _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Exp. Date ____/____/____

Full 45-Day Money Back Guarantee of Satisfaction

definition of Russia, but ordinary Russians do not seem to support them. They seem to understand that there is a direct connection between the amount of liberty Russia allows its weaker neighbors, and the amount of freedom they themselves will enjoy.

The party of war in the "power ministries," which have pushed Boris Yeltsin into this invasion, are the very same people who pilfer Russia's mineral wealth, who blow up nosy journalists with suitcase bombs, and who are threatening a clampdown on press freedom. That is why the Russian press and public are protesting so vehemently. Apart from Major General Babichev, who would not ram through civilians, another Russian hero was Sergei Kovalyov, the veteran dissident and human-rights ombudsman, who issued his protests against the invasion from inside besieged Grozny. If there is a silver lining to this dismal episode, it is that Russian civil society is proving more sophisticated and more determined than many suspected.

If the party of war manages to pacify Chechnya, a series of ominous precedents will have been established. The most reactionary elements in the bureaucracies of repression will have proved their ascendancy. It will become accepted that the president of Russia may use force against the wishes of his parliament and population.

Censorship of the media will once again have become a menacing possibility. Once again, those guilty of corruption and violence will have wriggled out of responsibility by staging an imperialist sideshow. Conquest of territory, however costly, will once again have taken precedence over Russia's internal modernization.

With luck, however, this operation may prove to have less in common with the invasion of Afghanistan—which in its early days went like clockwork—than with the bungled August 1991 coup which attempted to salvage the Soviet Union, and instead precipitated its collapse. Just like the hard-line plotters then, today the party of war is proving itself worse than brutal and authoritarian—it is shown up as incompetent and risible. If it were to flop in Chechnya, Russian neo-imperialism would perhaps be discredited once and for all. The attempt to turn Russia into an empire again would have failed. The tide of ultra-nationalism in Russia might then begin to retreat. That would not be a bad outcome, either for the world, or for Russia. It is only a pity that leading countries and institutions in the West would not be able to take the credit for it. Through bad analysis and moral cowardice they lined up with the likes of Zhirinovskiy and not with the women who stood in the tanks' way. □

a series of rulings that decree a "wall of separation" between affairs of state and the precepts of religion. In the most controverted of these cases, in 1962, the Court said an officially sponsored prayer recited in the New York public schools was an abridgement of our freedoms. This prayer read, in its entirety: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence on Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country." In the Court's opinion, this supplication triggered the First Amendment ban against an "establishment of religion," logic that was later extended to reading the Bible and reciting the Lord's Prayer in the classroom.

In adopting the First Amendment, according to the Court, the Founders meant to sever all connection between religious faith and government, requiring that religion be a purely private matter. As Justice Hugo Black put it in an oft-quoted statement: "The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. . . . No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion."

This doctrine has been affirmed and amplified in many rulings since. In support of it, Black and his successors (most recently Justice David Souter) have offered a reading of our history that supposedly shows the intentions of the people who devised the First Amendment. In a nutshell, we're told that the Founders chiefly responsible for the Constitution's religion clauses were Madison and Jefferson; that they held views intensely hostile toward any governmental backing for religion; and that the amendment was a triumph for their separationist position.

The Myth of Strict Separation

WHAT WALL?

The Framers would be surprised to hear that the Constitution says religion and government shouldn't mix.

M. STANTON EVANS

AS the renewed debate over prayer in the public schools suggests, the cultural conflict

of the modern era finds vivid and enduring focus in the legal dispute about the place of religion in the civic order. Here the battle is overt, relentless, and pervasive—with traditional belief and custom retreating before a secularist onslaught in our courts and other public institutions.

During the past three decades, the U.S. Supreme Court has handed down

Of Whole Cloth

THE First Amendment depicted by Justice Black and other liberal jurists is a fabrication. The Supreme Court's alleged history is a prime example of picking and choosing elements from the past to suit the ideological fashions of the present. If we consult the history of the nation's

Mr. Evans is director of the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C. This article is adapted with permission from his book The Theme Is Freedom: Religion, Politics, and the American Tradition (Regnery, 1994).

founding, we find that the Court and its supporters have misstated the material facts about the issue in every possible fashion.

To begin with, state papers, legal arrangements, and political comment of the founding generation show that American culture in that period was suffused with religious doctrine. The point is made by the very concept of an "establishment of religion." This term had a definite meaning in England and the colonies that is critical to understanding the debate about the First Amendment. It signified an official church that occupied a privileged position with the state, was vested with certain powers denied to others, and was supported from the public treasury. Such was the Church of England in Great Britain, and such also were numerous churches in the colonies at the beginning of our revolution.

The States' Churches

IN 1775, no fewer than nine colonies had such arrangements. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire had systems of local church establishment in favor of the Congregationalists. In the South, from Maryland on down, the establishments were Episcopal. In New York, there was a system of locally supported Protestant clergy. Because of growing religious diversity within the states, pressure mounted to disestablish these official churches. In particular, increasingly numerous Baptists and Presbyterians made headway against the Anglican position, which was further weakened by the identification of many Episcopal ministers with the English.

Even so, at the time of the Constitutional Convention, the three New England states still had their Congregational establishments. In other states, there remained a network of official sanctions for religious belief, principally the requirement that one profess a certain kind of Christian doctrine to hold public office or enjoy other legal privilege. With local variations, these generally tended in the same direction, and they make instructive reading alongside the statements of Justices Black and Souter about the supposed history of our institutions.

In South Carolina, for example, the Constitution of 1778 said that "the Christian Protestant religion shall be

deemed . . . the established religion of the state." It further said that no religious society could be considered a church unless it agreed "that there is one eternal God and a future state of rewards and punishment; that the Christian religion is the true religion; that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are of divine inspiration." South Carolina also asserted that "no person who denies the existence of a Supreme Being shall hold any office under this Constitution."

Similar statements can be gleaned from other state enactments of the period. The Maryland Constitution of 1776 decreed, for instance, "a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion." New Jersey that year expressed its idea of toleration by saying that "no Protestant inhabitant of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right." Massachu-

setts, in 1780, authorized a special levy to support "public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality"—a formula adopted verbatim by New Hampshire.

Official support for religious faith and state religious requirements for public office persisted well after adoption of the First Amendment. The established church of Massachusetts was not abolished until 1833. In New Hampshire, the requirement that one had to be Protestant to serve in the legislature was continued until 1877. In New Jersey, Roman Catholics were not permitted to hold office until 1844. In Maryland, the stipulation that one had to be a Christian lasted until 1826. As late as 1835, one had to be a Protestant to take office in North Carolina; until 1868, the requirement was that one had to be a Christian; thereafter that one had to profess a belief in God.

The Officers and Directors of
THE INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE
proudly announce the

1995 OLIVE W. GARVEY FELLOWSHIPS

*The Garvey Fellowships will be awarded
for the three best essays on the topic:*

***"The Road to Prosperity and Human Welfare:
Free Markets or Government Controls?"***

Essays of not more than 3,000 words may be submitted by college students 35 years of age or younger. The essays will be judged by a panel of distinguished scholars. Deadline for submission is May 1, 1995.

**First Prize, Olive W. Garvey Fellowship Award:
\$2,500**

**Second Prize, Olive W. Garvey Fellowship Award:
\$1,500**

**Third Prize, Olive W. Garvey Fellowship Award:
\$1,000**

For further information, please contact:



134 Ninety-Eighth Avenue, Dept. GF5, Oakland, CA 94603, USA
Phone: 510-632-1366 • FAX: 510-568-6040

The official sanction for religious belief provided by the states was equally apparent at the federal level, during and after the Revolution. Appeals for divine assistance, days of prayer and fasting, and other religious observances were common in the Continental Congress. Among its first items of business, in 1774, the Congress decided to appoint a chaplain and open its proceedings with a prayer. When it was objected that this might be a problem because of diversity in religious doctrine, Sam Adams answered: "I am not a bigot. I can hear a prayer from a man of piety and virtue, who is at the same time a friend of his country."

On June 12, 1775, the Congress called for "a day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer," wherein "[we] offer up our joint supplications to the all-wise, omnipotent, and merciful disposer of all events." In observance of this fast day, Congress attended an Anglican service in the morning and a Presbyterian service in the afternoon.

During the Revolutionary War, Congress made provision for military chaplains, recommended that officers and men attend religious service, and threatened court martial for anyone who misbehaved on such occasions. It also adopted the Northwest Ordinance, stressing the need for "religion and morality," appropriated money for the Christian education of Indians, and encouraged the printing of a Bible. The Northwest Ordinance and the measures regarding chaplains, official prayer, and education of the Indians, were re-adopted by the first Congress under the new Constitution and maintained for many years thereafter.

Crumbling Wall

SUCH WAS the body of doctrine and official practice that surrounded the First Amendment—immediately predating it, adopted while it was being discussed and voted on, and enduring long after it was on the books. The resulting picture is very different from any notion of America as a country run by secularists and Deists. Nor does it look very much like a country in which the governing powers were intent on creating a "wall of separation" between church and state, denying official support to the precepts of religion.

This was the background to Madison's motion on June 8, 1789, introduc-

ing a set of amendments to the Constitution, culled from the proposals of the state conventions. Among the measures that he offered was this pertaining to an "establishment of religion": "The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief, nor shall any national religion be established . . ." In view of the weight that has been given to Madison's personal opinions on the subject, his comments on this occasion are of special interest. For example, challenged by Roger Sherman as to why such guarantees were needed, given the doctrine of "enumerated powers," Madison said

he apprehended the meaning of the words to be, that Congress shall not establish a religion and enforce the legal observation of it by law, nor compel men to worship God in any manner contrary to their conscience. Whether the words are necessary or not, he did not mean to say, but they had been required by some of the state conventions, who seemed to entertain an opinion that [under the "necessary and proper" clause] . . . Congress . . . might infringe the rights of conscience and establish a national religion; to prevent these effects he presumed the amendment was intended, and he thought it as well expressed as the nature of language would admit. [Italics added.]

In this and other exchanges, the House debate made two things clear about the Bill of Rights and its religion clauses: 1) Madison was introducing the amendments not because *he* thought they were needed but because others did, and because he had promised to act according to their wishes; 2) the aim was to prevent Congress from establishing a "national" religion that would threaten the religious diversity of the states. Given the varied prac-

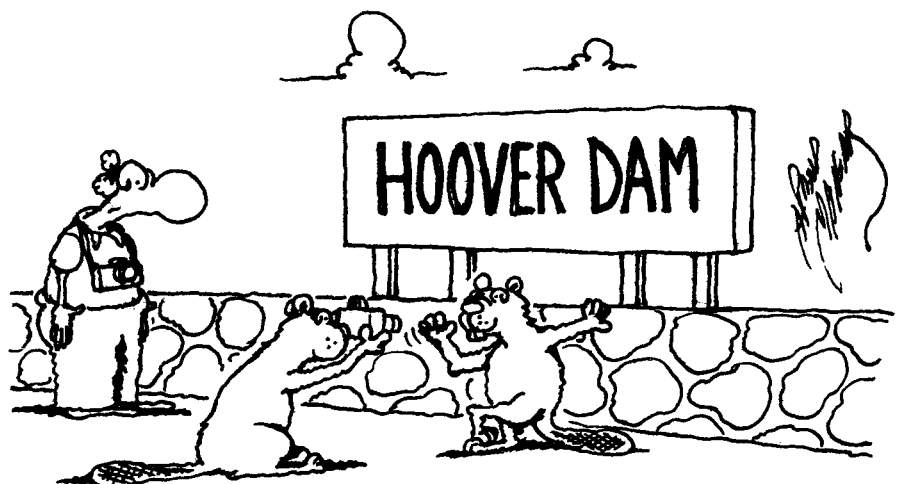
tices we have noted, ranging from establishments and doctrinal requirements for public office to relative toleration, any "national" religion would have been a source of angry discord.

Against that backdrop, the meaning of the establishment clause as it came out of conference should be crystal clear: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." The agency prohibited from acting is the national legislature; what it is prevented from doing is passing any law "*respecting*" an establishment of religion. In other words, Congress was forbidden to legislate at all concerning church establishment—either for or against. It was prevented from setting up a national established church; equally to the point, *it was prevented from interfering with the established churches in the states.*

Shield Becomes Sword

THOUGH this history is blurred or ignored, it is no secret, and its general features are sometimes acknowledged by liberal spokesmen. It may be conceded, for example, that the First Amendment was intended to be a prohibition against the Federal Government. But that guarantee was supposedly broadened by the Fourteenth Amendment, which "applied" the Bill of Rights against the states. Thus what was once prohibited only to the Federal Government is now also prohibited to the states.

Thus we have the Orwellian concept of "applying" a protection of the states *as a weapon against them*—using the First Amendment to achieve the very thing it was intended to prevent. The legitimacy of this reversal has been



In the Fight for Freedom...



The delightful rout of liberal Democrats would have come as no surprise to Thomas Paine. Paine understood the enormous power of ideas to change society.

Paine wouldn't stop at capturing Congress, though. He'd be launching new offensives against the cultural remnants of liberalism in the media, television, and universities. But he wouldn't be using pamphlets anymore.

He'd be on the computer. And so should you.

Specifically, you should be on TOWN HALL—the nation's first interactive computer network for people who are passionate about conservative ideas and politics.

...Only the Tools Have Changed

TOWN HALL, a private forum on CompuServe, gives you:

Up-to-the-minute news and policy analysis:

While the liberal media were busy ridiculing the Contract for America, Town Hall members were reading the unedited details—straight from Capitol Hill.

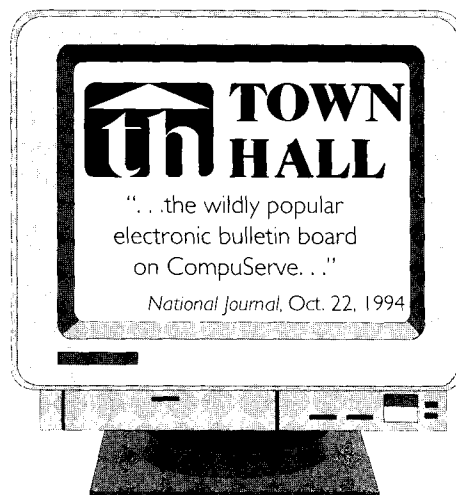
Information and perspectives you simply won't get from liberal TV networks, newspapers and magazines.

- Learn what Speaker Gingrich has in store for the Clintons, from transcripts of his speeches and the online editions of *National Review* and *Policy Review*.
- As conservatives exhume the skeletons of 42 years of one-party rule, get the inside dirt from Thomas Sowell, Don Feder, Walter Williams, Dan Quayle and 14 others.
- Read news from the Media Research Center, Empower America, Project for the Republican Future, Accuracy in Media, and dozens more conservative groups.

Exclusive online access to analysts and writers from The Heritage

Foundation and *National Review*. Access their research and analyses, then discuss their work online.

Unlimited conferencing and forum access for only \$24.95 a month. Get Town Hall and all of CompuServe's basic services with no hourly fees.



Already have a CompuServe ID?
GO TOWNHALL!

Join the Battle for Freedom. Join TOWN HALL.

Name

Address

City

State

Internet Address

Zip

@

For a 30-Day Free Trial, Call:

1-800-441-4142

Or Send
This
Form to:

TOWN HALL

214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

A project of *National Review* and The Heritage Foundation

convincingly challenged by Raoul Berger, Lino Graglia, and James McClellan. But for present purposes, let us simply *assume* the First Amendment restrictions on Congress were "applied" against the states. What then? What did this prohibit?

One thing we know for sure is that *it did not prohibit officially sponsored prayer*. As we have seen, Congress itself engaged in officially sponsored, tax-supported prayer, complete with paid official chaplains, from the very outset—and continues to do so to this day. Indeed, in one of the greatest ironies of this historical record, we see the practice closely linked with passage of the First Amendment—supplying a refutation of the Court's position that is as definitive as could be wished.

The language that had been debated off and on throughout the summer and then hammered out in conference finally passed the House of Representatives on September 24, 1789. *On the very next day*, the self-same House of Representatives passed a resolution calling for *a day of national prayer and thanksgiving*. Here is the language the House adopted: "We acknowledge with grateful hearts the many signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peacefully to establish a constitutional government for their safety and happiness."

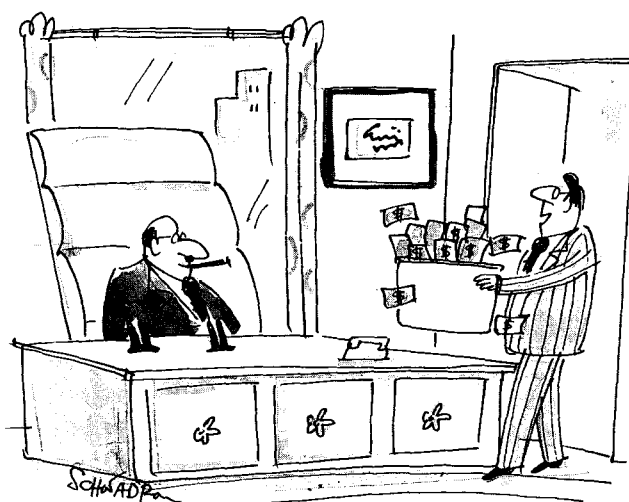
The House accordingly called on President Washington to issue a proclamation designating a national day of prayer and thanksgiving (the origin of our current legal holiday). This was Washington's response:

It is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey His will, to be grateful for His benefits, and humbly to implore His protection and favor. . . . That great and glorious Being who is the beneficent author of all the good that was, that is, or that ever will be, that we may then unite in rendering unto Him our sincere and humble thanks for His kind care and protection of the people.

Such were the official sentiments of Congress and the President immediately after adoption of the First

Amendment. These statements are far more doctrinal and emphatic than the modest prayer schoolchildren are forbidden to recite because it allegedly violates the First Amendment. If we accept the reasoning of the modern Court, as Robert Cord observes, both *Congress and George Washington violated the intended meaning of the First Amendment from its inception*.

The more logical conclusion, of course, is that Congress knew much better what it meant by the language adopted the preceding day than does our self-consciously evolving Court two centuries later. And in the view of



Here you are, sir—your minimum daily requirement!

Congress, there was nothing either in law or in logic to bar it from engaging in officially sponsored, tax-supported prayer, then or ever. It follows that the amendment can't possibly bar the states from doing likewise.

Madison and Jefferson

TO all this, the liberal answer is, essentially: James Madison. Whatever the legislative history, we are informed, Madison in his subsequent writings took doctrinaire positions on church-state separation, and these should be read into the First Amendment. This, however, gets the matter topsy-turvy. Clearly, if the Congress that passed the First Amendment, and the states that ratified it, didn't agree with Madison's more stringent private notions, as they surely didn't, then these were *not* enacted. It is the common understanding of the relevant parties, not the ideas of a sin-

gle individual, especially those expressed in other settings, that defines the purpose of a law or constitutional proviso.

Furthermore, the Court's obsession with the individual views of Madison is highly suspect. It contrasts strangely with judicial treatment of his disclaimers in the House debate, and of his opinion on other constitutional matters. Madison held strict-constructionist views on the extent of federal power, arguing that the Constitution reserved undelegated authority to the states. *These* views of Madison are dismissed entirely by the Court. Thus we get a curious inversion: Madison becomes the Court's authority on the First Amendment, even though the notions he later voiced about this subject were not endorsed by others involved in its adoption. On the other hand, he isn't cited on the residual powers of the states, even though his statements on this topic were fully endorsed by other supporters of the Constitution and relied on by the people who voted its approval. It is hard to find a thread of consistency in this—beyond the obvious one of serving liberal ideology.

As peculiar as the Court's selective use of Madison is its resort to Jefferson. The anomaly here is that Jefferson was not a member of the Constitutional Convention, or of the Congress that considered the Bill of Rights, or of the Virginia ratifying convention. But he had strongly separatist views (up to a point) and had worked with Madison for disestablishment and religious freedom in Virginia. For the Court, this proves the First Amendment embodied Jefferson's statement in 1802, in a letter to the Baptists of Connecticut, about a "wall of separation."

Again we pass over the Lewis Carroll logic—in this case deducing the intent of an amendment adopted in 1789 from a letter written 13 years later by a person who had no official role in its adoption. Rather than dwelling on this oddity, we shall simply go to the record and see what Jefferson actually said about the First Amendment and its religion clauses. In his second inaugural address, for example, he said:

(Continues on page 76)



THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

December 30, 1994

Dear Sir or Madam,

This is to inform you that your services to this Republic are no longer needed. In my continuing struggle to renew American civilization, I have found it necessary to make certain cutbacks, and, sorry to say, you left-liberal, PBS-watching, Nina Totenberg-agreeing, root-cause-finding, we-are-all-responsible mumbling member of the media-academic Democratic elite—well, my fine friend, you are out of here.

How does that sound? I'm in the Vice President's old office in the EOB—the one he used before he and Panetta began sharing the Oval Office—just trying to catch my breath. I've been racing all over town trying to catch up with Ron Brown, the Secretary of Commerce, to give him a version of the speech I just gave you, and I'll be darned if I know where he is. I tried all of his usual spots: the Mayflower, the Four Seasons, Citronelle, Mo Sussman's, the Willard, the Hay-Adams—nowhere. I tried the dining rooms in the headquarters of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Huge Bank Institute, the Multi-National Sluggish Monolith Information Group—no Ron. I had a couple of the guys from GOPAC troll up and down K Street looking for the guy (a tall, distinguished-looking black gentleman, in an expensive suit, carrying a briefcase and a canvas bag marked "SWAG"). As I walked down the hall, looking for him but also sniffing the air for marijuana smoke, I saw him dash around the corner. I gave chase, but he was too quick. I thought I saw him hop into a cab, but then I thought, "Who am I kidding? Ron Brown in a cab?"

Which leaves me in a bit of a pickle, because if you're going to fire the entire Commerce Department, it's only common courtesy to fire the top guy first. And believe me, I've learned a bit about common courtesy since I became Speaker of the House.

I've learned not to say "Cream, no sugar" to Mrs. Clinton. I've learned that the sound of me snorting derisively, while charming on "Brinkley," sounds, in the Oval Office, a bit like a Glock 9mm slug slamming into the window sill. And I've learned that Strom Thurmond's false teeth are so loose that I have to resign myself to being called "Nude" for the rest of my speakership.

But these are small potatoes when you're renewing a civilization. And I would have liked to renew it a lot faster, but chucking Ron Brown and his whole department is harder than it seemed. He's a slippery one.

So here I was, in Al Gore's old office, and I saw his

computer, and I thought I could use this time to compose my first "E-Mail to America"—we are, after all, in the last roll of the fifth wave of a technomedia revolution, which means that not only can we file all congressional documents on-line, on the Internet—and won't America be thrilled: no more waiting in line at the Federal Bookstore!—not only that, but we'll be able to watch reruns of "Space: 1999" on its very own channel! Let me make a prediction: we will not just renew, we will rerun!

I'd feel guilty about using Al's office if I didn't like him so much. You're a friend of his, as evidenced by his letters to you, so let me tell you, I like Al Gore—except for the environmental nonsense and all the creepy stuff about renewing the American spirit, which I don't get at all. Al and I agree that we're in the midst of a technological revolution, but I note in passing that his computer, the one I'm writing to you on, is an early-1994 IBM clone with a Pentium chip, which is a dysfunctional chip that produces bizarre, pathetic solutions to very serious problems. Be it duly noted.

So the real question is: why am I writing you this note? Okay, I stopped in here to catch my breath. The phone rang, and the voice on the other end sounded like a cross between Winston Churchill and Elvis Presley. I guessed it was Joycelyn Elders, since she was asking for her severance check. Then I flip on Al's computer, browse through the hard disk (ever heard of sub-group directories, Al? Look into 'em. They're going to be big!), read his letters to you, and I think—hey, take a break from renewing American civilization, write this guy down in Brazil a note.

The funny thing is, I've written so much, and all I really wanted to say was: if, in your research in Brazil, you are in any way supported, assisted or aided, either directly or indirectly, by the Federal Government—you're fired.

Have a great day!

PS: "Renewing American Civilization" is a registered trademark. All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions, including the right of reproduction in whole or in part in any form.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Our Revolting Elites

ROBERT H. BORK

DECLINIST books are very much in style these days, each more alarming or depressing than the previous one. Not that I mind all that much, having long agreed with George Will's dictum that the only question remaining about the decline of Western civilization is the pace. Indeed, at the American Enterprise Institute, where I toil, we held a panel discussion not long ago on the subject: "Was Western Civilization a Good Idea?" The answer was indefinite.

Now comes Christopher Lasch's latest and, sadly, last book. It is a sometimes quirky but always provocative work, more like a collection of essays than a systematic exposition of a thesis. Still, the essays for the most part do cluster around the theme the title announces.

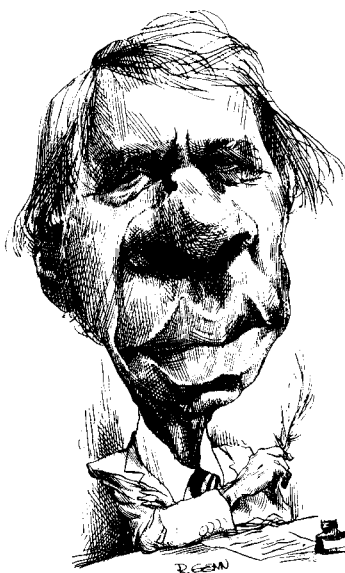
At first, I did not think I was going to like the book because Lasch offers opinions that strike this reader at least as excessively liberal, which is perhaps not difficult to do. *The Revolt of the Elites* is intended to play off Ortega y Gasset's classic *The Revolt of the Mass-*

***The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*, by Christopher Lasch (Norton, 256 pp., \$22)**

es: "Once it was 'the revolt of the masses' that was held to threaten social order and the civilizing traditions of Western culture. In our time, however, the chief threat seems to come from those at the top of the social hierarchy, not the masses." The intended contrast is flawed because Lasch and Ortega do not define either the elites or the masses in the same way. For Lasch, the distinction between the elites and the masses is primarily socio-economic status; for Ortega, elites are "those who make great demands on themselves, piling up difficulties and duties," while the "mass" is composed of "those who demand nothing special of themselves." Thus, the pseudo-intellectual is mass man while those working men with "nobly disciplined minds" are not. The distinction is important, for Lasch's definition of the elites causes him, initially at least, to miss what is defining about them.

Judge Bork is a Fellow of the American Enterprise Institute.

There is certainly a sense in which our time is characterized by what might be called a revolt of the elites, elites defined not as either Ortega or Lasch defined them but as persons



Roman Genn

who shape our culture and who display common attitudes that are quite different from the attitudes of most of the rest of the population. Lasch's elites are persons with wealth and mobility, those who succeed in a society that is increasingly meritocratic. He defines democracy as meaning social as well as political equality, so that "meritocracy is a parody of democracy." He regrets the social stratification that meritocracy produces.

Lasch, however, objects not just to widening social divisions but also to inequality, which is a different matter:

"economic inequality is intrinsically undesirable," "luxury is morally repugnant," and "a moral condemnation of great wealth must inform any defense of the free market, and that moral condemnation must be backed up with effective political action." It is difficult to see much basis for this, other than the envy that so often motivates the Left in its quest for redistribution. The economy is not a zero-sum game, and the wealth of a Bill Gates or a Michael Jordan does not take anything away from me. Indeed, the wealth of others enhances my life. Without the generosity of the rich, directly or through the foundations they have established, many of us who prefer life on a university faculty or at a think tank would have had quite different and less satisfying careers.

In any event, Lasch does not examine the difficulties his version of democracy faces. Rapidly evolving technology, in the direction of greater complexity, has made those who work with abstract concepts and symbols more valuable, and hence better paid. If we take "effective political action" to prevent the accumulation of wealth, we will also ensure that the society as a whole is poorer than it need be. There may be those who would find that a cost worth paying in order to avoid the pain of realizing that there exist persons much richer than themselves, but it seems unlikely that most Americans, if they understand the tradeoff, would agree.

By defining the elites primarily as money-makers, moreover, Lasch avoids the real problem our elites pose: their cultural and political values. "Efforts to define a 'new class' composed of public administrators and policy makers, relentlessly pushing a program of liberal reforms, ignore the range of political opinions among the professional and managerial elites." But this misses the point. The "new class" does not include, as Lasch contends it does, "brokers, bankers, real-estate promoters and developers, engineers, consultants of all kinds, systems analysts, scientists, doctors," but rather is made up of those in the second half of his list: "publicists, publishers, editors, advertising executives, art directors, moviemakers, entertainers, journalists, television producers and directors, artists, writers, university professors." Only by lumping the two groups together can he claim that

there is no common political outlook. What is distinctive about the latter group is that they influence cultural and political attitudes, as the former group does not. One Oliver Stone motion picture has far more impact on the way Americans see their country than all the pronouncements of the chairmen of the boards of General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Microsoft, and IBM combined. The group to which Mr. Stone belongs is overwhelmingly of leftist disposition. That is the "new class."

When Lasch stops riding the theme of the evils of meritocracy and wealth and the threat they pose to democracy, his book becomes much more interesting. He eventually forgets about bankers and brokers, and begins implicitly to define elites as comprising his second category, those engaged in ideas and entertainment. He recognizes that it is these elites, not real-estate developers, who are in revolt against America.

For example, the chapter "Does Democracy Deserve to Survive?" might have been written for NATIONAL REVIEW. There Lasch attacks the view that democracy is incompatible with excellence and that high standards are elitist (read "racist"). "The latest variation on this familiar theme, its *reductio ad absurdum*," he writes, "is that respect for cultural diversity forbids us to impose the standards of privileged groups on the victims of oppression." The insistence upon standards these days is called Eurocentrism, and various groups are told they need not try to meet the standards because they are rigged in favor of white males. Well, the standards are associated with whites because they were developed in Europe, and, whether we are talking about science, technology, law, education, philosophy, or what have you, Europe produced the most successful standards in the world. To tell groups that they need not strive to meet them is to ensure their future lack of success, which will foster a further hostility to the standards.

Lasch parts with the liberal notion that civic virtue is unnecessary to democracy, which is widely thought to require only a legal system, a set of institutions, and rules for elections. Anyone

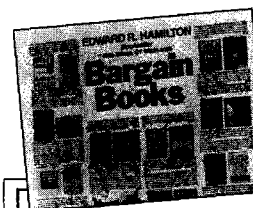
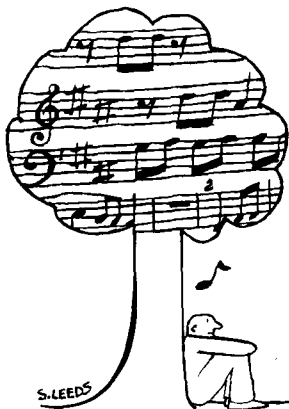
who contemplates the present degraded state of our politics, government, and culture must sympathize with his desire for a "revisionist version of American history, one that stresses the degree to which liberal democracy has lived off the borrowed moral capital of moral and religious traditions antedating the rise of liberalism." Moral capital, like tangible forms of capital, is subject to depreciation. It does not last forever unless it is replenished, and ours is not being replenished. True, there are revivals of traditional faith in both Christianity and Judaism, but they have yet to

have a significant impact on the broader culture. Perhaps they never will, because few of their adherents staff the prestigious universities, national media, Hollywood, or the other institutions that control the symbols of our culture.

The source of the moral breakdown that afflicts America is the subject of controversy. Lasch points to capitalism's identifica-

tion with self-gratification as a leading culprit, but the relationship was not inevitable. Capitalism existed for a long time in societies that, by current standards, were highly moral. In looking for the causes of moral breakdown, a number of candidates other than capitalism come to mind: the steady spread of the democratic ideal, which encourages the notion that hierarchies, including moral hierarchies, are illegitimate; the advance of technology, which progressively relieves us of arduous work and offers multiple forms of pernicious entertainment; and, as Lasch himself notes, the secularization of American life.

Lasch's sympathies are firmly with religion rather than secularism. He asks "what accounts for [our society's] wholesale defection from the standards of personal conduct—civility, industry, self-restraint—that were once considered indispensable to democracy," and answers that a major reason is the "gradual decay of religion." Our liberal elites, whose "attitude to religion ranges from indifference to active hostility," have succeeded in removing religion from public recognition and public debate. Though Lasch does not say so, that is one of the many effects flow-



FREE CATALOG
Huge Selection
Lowest Prices

America's Biggest Selection of Bargain Books

Overstocks, Remainders, Imports and Reprints from all major publishers. Books recently priced at \$20, \$30, \$40—now as low as \$3.95, \$4.95, \$5.95.

Thousands of titles, from yesterday's best sellers to books you never knew existed.

Over 40 subject areas: Politics, Biography, History, Literature, Sports, Health, Nature and more.

Fast Shipment, normally within 48 hours, and a moneyback guarantee.

Please send me your Free Catalog of Bargain Books.

Name

Address

City

State

Zip

HAMILTON

Box 15-30, Falls Village, CT 06031

Must reading for all Americans!

VANDALS AT THE GATES OF MEDICINE

BY MIGUEL A. FARIA, JR., M.D.



ISBN Number
0-9641077-0-8

Retail Price

\$41.95

Add \$3 for shipping and handling

Miguel A. Faria, Jr., M.D., provides compelling arguments that answers to the dilemma of health care reform residing on the pages of history. This fascinating book draws parallels between the past and the present, from a time when the fine line separating myth and history was blurred and indistinguishable to the clearly troubled present.



Miguel A. Faria, Jr., M.D., Clinical Professor of Surgery (Neurosurgery) and Adjunct Professor of Medical History at Mercer University School of Medicine is also the editor of the *Journal of the Medical Association of Georgia*.

Call 1-800-757-9873



Hacienda Publishing
Macon, Georgia

ing from the liberal elites' capture of the Supreme Court, which, here as elsewhere, imposes elite values at the expense of both the historical meaning of the Constitution and self-government.

The Revolt of the Elites ranges provocatively, insightfully, and, in my view, sometimes wrong-headedly over too many topics to make a full review

in a short space possible. One finishes it with sadness because there will be no more. In his Acknowledgments, Lasch remarks that he is more than usually indebted to others because "this book was written under trying circumstances." That is the only reference to his personal tragedy. We learn elsewhere that he died just ten days after completing the book. □

Alone Again, Naturally

R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR.

HERE WE have a collection of newspaper columns written by a very intelligent, learned, eloquent man. He provokes. He instructs. He amuses. Since the days when he taught university students and served on the staff of Republican

The Leveling Wind, by George F. Will (Viking, 496 pp., \$23.95)

Senator Gordon Allott, I have charted his growth. There has not been that much; there has not had to be. George Will has always been a sober, civilized man with serious political principles buttressed by wise historical insights.

I remember his telling acquaintances when he began his syndicated column that he planned to do something special with it. That special thing was to raise commentary from the daily descant that it had become. He would do only two columns weekly—not three or four or five, all done on the wing. And in those columns he would discuss matters in high style and according to high principle. He would advance a Tory point of view for the edification of his readers. After proceeding through several hundred pages of the last four years of his column writing, I can assure you that Mr. Will has lived up to his own high standards. At home among his books, he inhabits his kind of world, a world populated by Churchill, de Gaulle, Andrew Jackson, James Madison, John Donne, and

William Butler Yeats (whose poetry provides the title for this collection). For Mr. Will, leaving home must be a hell of a letdown. At Washington dinner parties, or seated across from Sam Donaldson on Sunday mornings, he must be very much alone.

Why is George Will so alone? His world of stupendous figures and historical issues would improve our own, but look around you and there is almost no sign of that world anywhere. Mr. Will does his best with the paltry stuff of our time. He swats at such figures as Saddam Hussein, "a 1930s figure" (he has Mussolini in mind); George Bush ("conservatism faces its worst identity crisis since Goldwater and Reagan"); and Jim Morrison, he of the "short shabby life." Will also visits with oddities: the repellent fellow who doubts the Holocaust took place, the young English lady who catches his eye as she runs what remains of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Of course even when treading water with the oddities and inflating the mediocrities, he hands down prose written with the seriousness of Lippmann or Bagehot, but again I am brought back to the aforementioned point: George Will is alone in the world. He and the small handful of other pundits of his rank—Charles Krauthammer and Michael Barone spring to mind—should have Lippmann's stature among the populace, but they do not. In fact, almost no Americans have stature, not even the stature of their immediate predecessors. Why is, say, Antonin Scalia not as much a presence to his fellow Americans as the Holmeses were to

their contemporaries? Why does Bill Gates not cast a shadow across our time comparable to that of Henry Ford in his day? (Perhaps Gates does, but I am in doubt.)

One of the reasons Will and his compeers—whether in journalism, the arts, science, or politics—lack the stature of earlier Americans is the universality of television. Television simplifies, idiotizes, and wrings the dignity and danger out of the world of great figures, great issues, and great evils. It diminishes "what unearthly stuff rounds the mighty scene," as Yeats put it. Its co-conspirator is public relations. The PR virtuosi feed the journalists their stories, give the dramatis personae their lines, and hype squalor and banality, to the exclusion of serious matters. A theme of this collection is the collapse of the Marxist utopia and of the Soviet reality. In the last four years Russia began its first territorial reduction in a millennium. Yet through it all, television news spent equal time on the domestic tumult of two slobbs, the Bobbitts; of two well-born mediocrities, the Prince and Princess of Wales; and of such low-grade performers as Michael Jackson and Madonna.

No wonder a serious man such as George Will falls into the shadows. Mr. Will's favorite contemporaries seem to be Kenneth Minogue, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Shelby Steele, James Q. Wilson, Charles Murray. But in the end I am brought to the unhappy observation that most of the luminaries he invokes are grey with age. They have been on the scene a long time and they are passing from the scene. The urban crisis remains. The denaturing of the educational system continues. The culture's decline into the hands of perverts and mountebanks will not be stopped, not by George Will or by five thousand Italian craftsmen leaping out of Florence and Venice and heralding a new Renaissance. Frankly, Mr. Will, arty America prefers the lady besludged in chocolate sauce, dancing like a drunken septuagenarian and paid for by the National Endowment for the Arts.

Which brings us to two other poisons even more important to serious people's loss of stature among their contemporaries: the politicization of our culture and the end of the liberal epoch. Pffft, almost all the issues that have commanded serious attention



Mr. Tyrrell is editor-in-chief of The American Spectator and the author most recently of The Conservative Crack-Up.

throughout this century are viewed as boring or moribund.

The liberals, so-called, totally suffuse American culture with the pollutants of their politics. Their bugaboos (white males! tobacco! homophobia!) and desiderata (law suits! regulation! more males undergoing community service!) are everywhere, creating not a culture of lively ideas but a Kultursmog that deadens the life of the mind and stifles free discourse. George Will, though widely syndicated and a figure on network television, can purify the atmosphere only for a few seconds here and there; then—whoosh—the bearers of the Kultursmog rush in.

Then too there is the fact, demonstrated most dramatically on November 8, that the liberals' era is kaput. They have kept arguing the same issues for thirty years. Rather, I should

say that, thanks to their control of the Kultursmog, we have all been enduring their monologues on the same issues for thirty years: the urban crisis, racism, capital punishment, unhealthy food, unsafe products. Every now and then they add a few new burning issues (animal rights, condoms). They have for years been great incompetents and now most assuredly they are great bores. That is why in any forum where the American majority has a chance to decide, the liberals are shown the door.

George Will has for many years been pointing them toward that door. That is why he is not nearly so celebrated as he deserves to be. In time this may change. But it will help to turn down the television and return to careful thought, expressed with the style we find in this book. □

and in high school, with the rise of multiculturalism, the study of literature has moronically—and tragically—devolved into “cultural studies.” Aesthetics have been reduced to ideology: didactic poetry, gender studies, “sincere” writers, minority writers, marginal writers, sectarian writers. Hacks such as Maya Angelou and Adrienne Rich and Alice Walker, the Barry Manilows of writing, seem alone to prevail.

Bloom at his most Jeffersonian says, “To read in the service of any ideology is not, in my judgment, to read at all.” “An Elegy for the Canon,” Bloom’s opening chapter, should be required reading everywhere. After that, he goes on to explain how and why the 26 keystone Western authors he has selected qualify (they include Shakespeare, Chaucer, Dante, Cervantes, Milton, Goethe, Whitman). This is a genre, literary taxonomy, not particularly original, though what he observes often most certainly is.

Yet after he shows us the need to save art from the parochialists, the pseudo-Marxists, and all the Francophile reductionists who make up what he calls the current “School of Resentment”—we find the old Harold Bloom, subjective and often loony, weighing in with a lot of wacko pronouncements: “It may be that Chaucer’s true literary parent was the Yahwist and his true child, Jane Austen,” or “Molière and Ibsen still share the stage, but always after Shakespeare.”

Although he sounds like a bishop, Bloom, in his literary viewpoints, is almost always resolutely on the side of the dark, the anarchic, the rebellious, and the profane, wittily, but often tiresomely (not to mention tendentiously), trying to find godlessness in the godly. In one of the book’s autobiographical moments, Mr. Bloom admits to having been spooked as a young professor by the neo-Christian New Criticism of T. S. Eliot and his academic followers. It seems to have turned him into a ferocious secularist. He goes to Emily Dickinson mainly for desperation, Milton for Satan, Beckett for hopelessness.

Which is to say that, while defending the idea of a canon of near-deified writers, Bloom at the same time sets about—sadly, maniacally—to detheolo-

Canon Law

ALEXANDER THEROUX

INTERTEXTUALLY, an autobiography emerges from the dense scholarly pages of *The Western Canon*, Harold Bloom’s plea for literacy, and description of what it includes, and how it should be understood. A professor at Yale, Bloom reveals much of himself in the book. “Close reading may not have ended with my generation,” he writes, “but it has certainly been eclipsed in the generations after us.” “Is it irrelevant that I was nearly forty before I first owned a television set?” At one point in the book, he notes the sound of “gunfire drifting across New Haven even as I sit here writing.” He recalls one summer, “in crisis,” being in Nantucket, where only by reading books aloud could he find his bearings. Mr. Bloom notes in passing, and self-consciously, that his father was in the garment business, that by reading and striving he has become a professor, but literature is in a state of supreme scruple. Ideology, political correctness, multiculturalism have warped the way we read. The barbarians are at the gates.

What strikes me is the amount of silence Harold Bloom must have had in his life not only to have read what he

has read, but to have pondered it to such depths. He is brilliant in so much that he sees and intuits, almost uncannily at times, that it is hardly surprising he has come to see himself in such a minority.

The Western Canon is a personal and highly quirky book as well as a compendium of literary criticism, expressing Bloom’s belief in the aesthetic as the sole standard of what we read, and not the ruinously didactic and sectarian indices, so popular today, of social and multicultural anti-intellectualism. He is pessimistic. Looking around, he feels literary education will not survive its current malaise, even at such a place as Yale.

The Western Canon is an important topical book, and what Bloom is saying badly needs to be said. It is an eloquent defense of the great authors and works, identifiable, in Gerard Manley Hopkins’s

The Western Canon, by Harold Bloom (Harcourt, Brace, 576 pp., \$29.95)

phrase, as “counter, original, spare, and strange.” Sadly, in the university



Mr. Theroux is the author of The Primary Colors (Holt).

gize those same writers. He blames Milton's God for "causing all the trouble in the first place"—a charmless and overly theatrical misreading for effect. "Whitman's poetry refuses to acknowledge any sexual demarcations, just as it refuses to accept any fortified lines dividing the human and the divine." Cervantes's deepest literary affinities "were with the [Jewish] *converso* Fernando de Rojas, author of the great narrative drama *Celestina*; not exactly," Bloom adds sarcastically, "a Catholic work in its savage amorality and its lack of theological suppositions." But Cervantes's intellectual debts are various, including everybody from Amadis de Gaul to Ariosto to Erasmus. Characteristically, Bloom clears his throat and pronounces *ex cathedra*, "We do not read *Don Quixote* as a pious work." Reading anything for piety, it seems, is, for Bloom, not so much anathema as parochial, anti-intellectual, just plain wrong.

In his aesthetic solipsism, however—to apply to Bloom himself what he says of Proust's Swann but ironically fails to see about his own condition—Bloom seems more than anything a parody of Ruskin, whose idolatry of art is transmuted into the collector's self-idolatry. He believes that, in this age of political correctness, abstractions such as faith also usurp the functions of poetic autonomy and literary individuality. "The canonical greatness of Dante, for a final time, has nothing to do with Augustine, or with the truths, if they are truths, of the Christian religion"—which is only the skewed hyperbole of a secular critic and utter nonsense. It is not so much that Harold Bloom's church is his library, as that his library, with its classic texts, has made religion for him utterly irrelevant. "To fall in love is to create a religion with a fallible god," Jorge Luis Borges wrote. Mr. Bloom is in love with literature, and it is a curious *duplex effectus* that he intends his own book as a kind of Scripture, a Bible, the very kind of dogma he in his humanism would have us elsewhere avoid.

Because he speaks with the Voice of God, his tone and point of view at times become unbearably doctrinal. This tendency often leads him to make an extravagant, meanderingly self-indulgent hash of things. "The Miltonic representation of Satan's ambivalence toward God," Bloom pontificates, "like the Freudian account of primal

ambivalence, is wholly Shakespearean, founded upon Iago's ambivalence toward Othello, Macbeth's toward his own Oedipal ambition, and Hamlet's toward everything and everyone, himself most of all." Bloom repeatedly takes a good insight too far, muddling thought. He overreaches with examples and makes cavalier arguments that only confuse and obfuscate rather than enlighten.

On the Edge

ANDREW STUTTA FORD

AS ANNE Applebaum writes in the introduction to this evocative and entertaining book, "Warsaw gave me a taste for instability." It is no surprise, therefore, that 1991 saw her heading toward the disintegrating Soviet Union. Rather than visit Moscow or Leningrad, however, she chose to journey down the empire's western frontier, from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In earlier times much of this region was known to Poles as the "Kresy," a word for "borderlands" that implies "a lack of demarcation, an endless horizon with nothing certain beyond."

A vast flat plain, these borderlands have attracted invaders from east and west for centuries. The only remotely indigenous power capable of resistance was the spectacularly disorganized and short-lived Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As a result the people of the Kresy never developed the sense of nationality enjoyed by their more fortunate neighbors. Most were simply "Tutejszy," a Polish word meaning "people from here."

In time the invaders were followed by settlers. By the turn of the century the region was populated by an extraordinary mix that included Slavs, Balts, Germans, Jews, Hungarians, Rumanians, and many others. It was, as Miss Applebaum points out, thoroughly messy. Such a state of affairs was unacceptable to Hitler and Stalin, who turned the region into a charnel house. By 1945 both the Jewish and German populations had been largely eliminated, and the Poles had been

Mr. Stuttaford, a New York-based investment banker, has traveled frequently to Eastern Europe (see NR, June 13).

This is, all things considered, a very subjective book, in two senses: While it attempts to restore the subjective, individual judgment to its rightful place at the center of the act of reading, at the same time it seeks to elevate one particular subject—namely Harold Bloom—to the office of Pope of All Reading. Subjectivity, of course, is one of the wonderful, if maddening, things in autobiography. □

pushed back a long way west. As for those who remained, they were to become "Soviet." "The idea was simple, beautifully clear. Gradually all of the

Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe, by Anne Applebaum (Pantheon, 314 pp., \$24)

subtle dialects that had been spoken in the borderlands, all of the national variations and differences in costume and taste, all would be submerged in an onslaught of Russification. Difference would be destroyed."

Many, particularly on the embarrassed Left, now prefer to look on the USSR through the prism of the chaotic Gorbachev years. They see it as just another empire, something, perhaps, that might have been run by a socialist Habsburg. Refreshingly, Miss Applebaum is under no such illusion. "The region had been conquered before, but the Soviet empire cast a deeper shadow than any of its predecessors. Whole nations were forgotten: within a few decades the West no longer remembered that anything other than 'Russia' lay beyond the Polish border . . . it was as if the many and various peoples of the region had simply dissolved into . . . the vast, muddy Belarussian swamp."

Appearances can be deceptive, however, and Miss Applebaum wanted to see whether something of the old diversity still remained. At times movingly, the book tells what she found. The approach she took was simple—she let people speak for themselves. Miss Applebaum is clearly a well-informed and sympathetic listener. As a result, much of the book is made up

of interviews that vividly bring these too long neglected peoples to life. The survivors of the Soviet years are rapidly rediscovering their voice—and pretty cranky it can be, too. In a region of blurred identity and shifting borders, the old divisive obsessions have returned. Poles remind Lithuanians that Vilnius was once Wilno, a Polish city, while a Ruthene compares Ukrainians to wolves, that gather “only in packs, in mobs, at rallies.”

It is easy, however, particularly in a book focused on nationality, to overstate these divisions. In fact, as is the case anywhere, people in these parts are generally more preoccupied by their economic circumstances than by their ethnic origins. Fortunately, Miss Applebaum has advanced appreciation of the ridiculous and is largely successful in keeping a sense of proportion about today's often absurd but generally harmless disputes among the peoples of the region. Rumors that records exist of speakers of an archaic form of Lithuanian in “Polish” villages near Vilnius may give rise to “hysteria,” but only in “the tiny world of nationalist language studies.”

Above all Miss Applebaum does not fall into the contemporary trap of seeing every Eastern European nationalist revival as a prelude to Yugoslavian-style disaster. In words that need to be read in Washington by those who view Russia as this region's policeman, she reminds us that “the stability so beloved of international statesmen had also been a prison.” Post-Soviet nationalism may indeed “prove to be dangerous, destabilizing, and uncomfortable for diplomats,” but it may be essential if successful and prosperous democracies are to be built in this devastated region. In this she must be right. There is, after all, not much else. Most of the ingredients of civic society have been obliterated. There is little or no history of self-government, and commercial traditions are weak, to say the least.

All that is left is a patchwork of half-remembered traditions that are part myth, part reality. That may not seem like a lot, but if, as Miss Applebaum demonstrates, it was tough enough—just—to withstand Soviet rule, it may be tough enough to provide the foundations of societies in which the people of the borderlands can at last be free to define what it means to be “from here.” □

Earn \$4,000 Per Month From Your Home With A Computer!



FREE CBSI 486 Computer

Begin part-time and still retain the security of your present position. This is a proven turnkey business an individual or couple can run. If you purchase our software and business program, we will give you the computer and printer. If you already own a computer, you may receive a discount. You do not need to own, or know how to run, a computer—we will provide free, home office training. Financing available.

*Learn how other individuals like yourself,
are building a lifetime income!*

To receive your free cassettes and color literature, call toll-free:

1-800-343-8014, ext. 1104

Or Write:

**Computer Business Services, Inc., CBSI Plaza, Ste. 1104
Sheridan, Indiana 46069**



NEW FROM CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER



“Hidden Politics”
by Dr. Thomas J.
DiLorenzo, an
inside look at how
America's activist
non-profit organi-
zations seek to
expand the power
of government.

“Information to break a peculiar
philanthropic pattern: major
corporations giving money to groups
whose agendas are the antithesis of free
enterprise.”

Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.
Editor-In-Chief, *Forbes Magazines*

“Why does Corporate America invest its
charitable resources in groups that want
to raise taxes and increase government
spending and regulation?”

Newton Gingrich
Speaker, House of Representatives

Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy

Public Affairs
Company and
the Forbes 250

“Patterns of
Corporate
Philanthropy” by
Stuart Nolan, the
8th Annual edition
of the book that
analyzes public
affairs giving by
corporate America.



For a copy of these books send \$5.00 for “Hidden Politics” and \$25.00 for “Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy” to:
Capital Research Center • 727 15th Street N.W. • Suite 800 • Washington, DC 20005

History, Right and Wrong

JOHN SIMON

ALAN BENNETT'S delightful play *The Madness of King George III* has survived the transfer from stage to screen, and emerges equally enjoyable on film. When you consider how very few stage works make it in the movies, and how very few of those have any artistic merit, this is happy news indeed.

Something must, by definition, be lost in such a sea change. *The Madness of King George* (the film title jettisons the numeral) concerns the dementia that affected England's King George III, which is now believed to have been caused by porphyria, a metabolic imbalance that produces all the symptoms of mental illness. It was a curious business, what with the King reigning from 1760 to 1820, losing and regaining his senses until the final ten years of total obnubilation. It is helpful to read Alan Bennett's Introduction to the stage version, in which he discusses exactly what departures he made from historical fact, and gives his personal opinions on many of the personages involved. The play and the movie, though not strict history, then, remain for the most part faithful to the spirit of the story.

The play was more—how to put it?—theatrical. There was for instance prolepsis, wherein a doctor from the future was brought on to explain the King's illness. Furthermore, the ghastly tortures to which the King was subjected in the name of a medical science that, at the time, had not the vaguest notion of how to treat the illness in question, loomed much more terrifying on stage. Even confinement in a wooden chair by means of straps is scarier when performed by a live actor.

But there are other respects in which the film comes out ahead. Since the subject is, to a large extent, the discrepancy between the pomp and circumstance of rule and the sundry forms of pettiness in the monarch's private life, it helps if the splendors of royalty can be shown to the audience. Even if Arundel Castle (for the exteri-

ors) and Wilmot House and Broughton Castle (for the interiors) aren't quite Windsor Castle, they seem to these uninitiated eyes close enough. And in the London scenes, which the film recreates *in situ*, there is all the panoply of uniforms, coaches, Parliament in session, and the rest.

Here, then, are Queen Charlotte, who has to fight and scheme to be admitted to the King's presence; Pitt, the prime minister, and his Whig side-kicks; Fox, leading the Tory opposition to ensconced Whiggery; the Prince of Wales and Duke of York acting sniffy or conniving; the menservants of the King fretting over his urine, which has turned blue; the King's physicians examining the royal stool and arguing with ludicrous ferocity about what's to be done. And here is "the Farmer King" himself, a basically decent albeit garrulous and dullish fellow, trying to fight off his illness and those who would turn it to their profit.

I am sorry that the film cut the clownish pair, Sir Boothby Skrymshir and his doltish nephew, but it compensates with an array of other minor characters who add denseness to the texture. What helps immeasurably is that Mr. Bennett wrote the screenplay, and that the gifted young stage director Nicholas Hytner also directed the movie. It is his first film, but it hardly looks like the work of a neophyte, though the expert production design by the marvelous Ken Adam and the full-blooded photography of Andrew Dunn lend considerable support.

Most important, Mr. Hytner was able to persuade the reluctant Nigel Hawthorne to recreate his George III on screen. This is one of those performances that engrave themselves on the memory: Mr. Hawthorne has a wonderfully warm, fleshy, pawky, rubicund face, with an unhandsome potato nose and small, restless eyes. But there is such canny vitality in his regard, such bantering bonhomie or indignant peckishness in his voice, such bouncy sprightliness in his movements, that you find yourself ducking without benefit of 3-D technology when

he lunges at you, smiling conspiratorially at his little victories, amused by his absurd idiosyncrasies, and very nearly suffering his torments.

There are sterling performances from Helen Mirren as the frisky, German-accented Queen; Julian Wadham as a glacially ironic Pitt; Ian Holm as Dr. Willis, whose unorthodox early psychotherapeutic methods, though brutal, proved effective; Rupert Everett, whose Prince of Wales is so foppish he seems to exist in slow motion; Rupert Graves as Greville, a young equerry whose amiability bursts at the oddest moment; Amanda Donohoe as a Lady Pembroke as savvy as she is sexy; and not a few talented others. Only Jim Carter's Fox seems to me a little low on charisma. But this is as fun-filled a history (or near-history) lesson as anyone could wish for.

■ Cultural history is rather less well served in *Immortal Beloved*, Bernard Rose's film about Beethoven and the mystery woman he loved and left the emoluments from his music to. Scholars have wrangled to this day about her identity, but I doubt the wisdom of hanging an entire film about Beethoven on a search for this woman—a sort of whodunit in which the composer's life and work play second fiddle to the sleuthing for the innamorata by a devoted amanuensis, Anton Schindler.

The film gets everything wrong, starting with the casting of Ludwig. Gary Oldman is a perfectly capable actor, but one whose strong suit is his inconspicuousness, his ability to look utterly average. (When I saw him at a party, I failed to recognize him.) This is fine for certain roles, but hardly the ticket for portraying a titan whose head more readily conveys the idea of "tormented genius" than any other I can think of. This miscasting is made even crueler by having the faithful Schindler played by the Dutch actor Jeroen Krabbé, who actually does look rather like Beethoven. And Krabbé sounds Dutch or German, whereas Oldman remains basically British.

The three women on Schindler's list are similarly miscast. Countess Guicciardi is, to be sure, played by an Italian, Valeria Golino, but a Hollywoodized one with no period sense. As the Hungarian Countess Erdödy, we get another Italian, Isabella Rossellini, whom the writer-director surrounds with real Hungarians speaking Hun-

Mr. Simon is NR's film critic.

The filmmaker matches the composer's deafness with his own purblindness and tone-deafness. Bernard Rose—a rich British dilettante who has made such insufferable films as *Paperhouse*—is quoted as saying things such as “It’s not like you hear nothing,” “inside of him,” “the dichotomy between the man and the music,” and “they couldn’t resolve [for “reconcile”] the beauty . . . of the music with this deaf, impossible little man,” so that “you feel alienated [*sic*] from the character.” Believe me, please, that the speaker Rose and the writer Rose are equally

There is, however, one redeeming feature. The film's backgrounds are provided by some of the most gorgeous baroque settings of the former Czechoslovakia, and they are condignly photographed by the able Peter Suschitsky. Still, for a travelogue, you would have needed the actual locations. □

JAMES BOWMAN

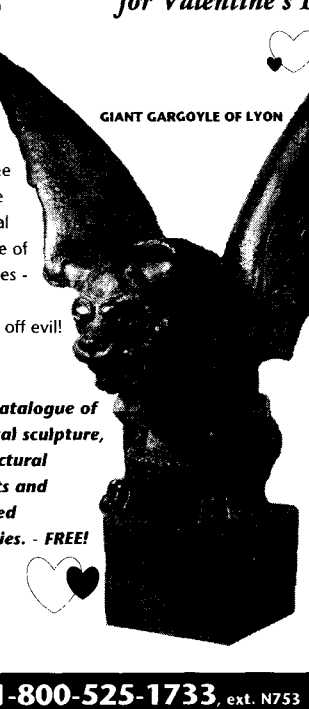
In other words, the kinds of lies political handlers routinely tell the media

Mr. Bowman is American Editor of the Times Literary Supplement.



GARGOYLES

for Valentine's Day



GIANT GARGOYLE OF LYON

Charm
your
Valentine
with the
Medieval
romance of
Gargoyles -
created
to ward off evil!

*Color Catalogue of
historical sculpture,
architectural
artifacts and
imported
tapestries. - FREE!*

1-800-525-1733, ext. N753

DESIGN TOSCANOSM

17 E. Campbell St., Dept. N753
Arlington Heights, IL 60005

AUDIO BOOKS

- Unabridged Recordings -
- Easy Rentals by Mail
- Over 500 Great Titles

"I go through a book a week using time otherwise wasted in taxis, shaving or walking"
—George F. Will

BLACKSTONE AUDIO BOOKS
Dept. N, P.O. Box 969, Ashland OR 97520

For a **FREE** Catalogue Call:
1-800-729-2665

AUTHORS WANTED

A well-known New York subsidy book publisher is searching for manuscripts. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry, juvenile, travel, scientific, specialized and even controversial subjects will be considered. If you have a book-length manuscript ready for publication (or are still working on it), and would like more information and a free 32-page booklet, please write:

**VANTAGE PRESS, DEPT. DA-9
516 W 34 St., New York, NY 10001**

lawyers. The reason for it is that "they have a license that requires them to defend their clients whether they are guilty or not; their responsibility is to attack those who have accused them, whatever the truth of those accusations."

Politics is a natural extension of the forensic arena. There the issues are not guilt and innocence, however, but rival claims upon power. Politicians are required to appeal to the electorate's sense of justice and equity for the sake of their own aggrandizement. Thus the system, if it is viewed as a means for arriving at disinterested truth, is tainted at the source—just like our adversarial legal system. It is therefore necessary for us to view it as a means to a different end: the imperfect end of getting the best government we can.

Yet there is, or used to be, in politics a means by which the system could distinguish between permissible (or even, as Mr. Abrams points out, mandatory) untruths and impermissible ones. It is called honor. The case of Oliver North is an instructive one here. Again and again during the recent election campaign in Virginia, North was accused of "lying," as if this were an unheard-of accusation to bring against a man running for public office. Those who sported on their Volvos a "North Never!" bumpersticker affected to think that the former lieutenant colonel was a kind of moral leper because he openly confessed that he had intentionally misled a congressional committee, in unsworn testimony, in order to save the lives of American agents abroad. In terms of political honor as traditionally understood, he should have been praised for misleading the congressional committee—just as he should have been censured for disloyalty in later having implicated his superior, Ronald Reagan, in the Iran-Contra affair in an indiscreet book, for money.

But the breakdown of consensus about honor has gone as far as it has partly because, under the influence of the therapeutic revolution of the past thirty years, the writing of confessional books is thought to be almost a human right. And the daytime talk shows have made even the idea of discretion in public life all but obsolete. There can have been few more striking examples

of this melancholy fact than the book by Major James Hewitt describing his love affair with Princess Diana. That a Guards officer should have bandied about the name of a married woman would itself have been enough permanently to disgrace the man only a few years ago—never mind that the woman was the wife of his future sovereign and that he did it for money. Enough of the old honor system survives so that he has been forever barred not only from his regiment's barracks but even from his local pub.

Unfortunately, no one has yet issued him a challenge to the field of honor—a fact not unrelated to the ambiguity and uncertainty about what honor means. If the new rules relating to making one's feelings public for quasi-therapeutic reasons allow the Prince of Wales to whine about how his father made fun of him when he was a boy or how he was pushed into marriage, what grounds has he for complaining when some cad brags about an affair with his wife? Both he and the cad, however, are diminished in popular estimation because we have a residual, perhaps an instinctive sense that some things ought not to be spoken of. And that sense entails the principle that, if lying is simply saying what we know not to be the truth, some things *ought* to be lied about.

AT ANY rate it is beyond any doubt that, in politics, a great many things *will* be lied about. Therefore, those of us who do not want to spend our lives in a permanent state of moral outrage had better not cling to the unilinear view of lying. Yet Kathleen Hall Jamieson, who is dean of communications at the University of Pennsylvania, uttered what must be the year's most influential judgment on the press when she said: "Journalists are now creating the coverage that is going to lead to their own destruction. If you cover the world cynically and assume that everybody is Machiavellian and motivated by their own self-interest, you invite your readers and viewers to reject journalism as a mode of communication because it must be cynical too."

Judging by the number of times this dictum has been repeated in the press itself, her plea against cynicism has

been taken to heart. But it is a peculiar sort of cynic who is constantly wringing his hands about his own cynicism. A clue as to the meaning of this bit of media self-criticism comes from a particularly enthusiastic supporter of Mrs. Jamieson's thesis, Mr. Thomas Patterson of Syracuse University, author of an apologia for President Clinton called *Out of Order*. In it he calls him "a President who should have acquired a reputation for fulfilling his promises" but who has been denied his due by a cynical press. "Reporters," writes Patterson, "establish their independence by casting doubt on everything. . . . [They] substitute snideness for skepticism. Subtleties, such as the possibility that political leaders sometimes have altruistic motives as well as selfish ones, occasionally get lost."

Of course political leaders have altruistic motives as well as selfish ones; the problem is that the two are not sometimes but *always* tangled up with each other. That is why "spin" is necessary to emphasize the former, just as analysis is necessary to reveal the latter. In effect, Mrs. Jamieson and Mr. Patterson are asking the press to give up analysis and do the President's spinning for him. And often during the recent elections, the press was not reluctant to oblige.

Not that there is nothing to be cynical about. Politicians are always cynical about one another's motives just as they are (outwardly at least) idealistic about their own. So much is the nature of the game. It is true to say, however, that the game has become nastier. Poor Bill Clinton, for example, cynicism's chief victim in the view of Mr. Patterson, is not entirely above attributing cynical motives to his political opponents. In a speech on health care he attacked critics of plans for reform by impugning their patriotism and suggesting that their only possible motivation must be that "we don't want cheaper health insurance, we don't want healthier people."

But that was no more offensive than Kathleen Brown's attempt to trump Pete Wilson on the crime issue in the California gubernatorial contest by bringing up her daughter's rape, or Ross Perot's suggestion on national television that President Clinton had sent American troops to the Persian Gulf in order to give himself "a bump in the polls." These are examples of cynicism that really ought to be ruled



out of court, their perpetrators shunned by their friends and scorned by their enemies until they atone for the disgrace of having uttered them. That does not happen. We have no consensus about what constitutes honor.

In the absence of such a consensus, both cynicism and idealism become exaggerated. Insofar as there is a cynical mood in the country, it is a function of the glibness with which idealistic political promises are made—promises of universal health care, a solution to the crime problem, the restoration of the family, elimination of the deficit, strong economic growth, and a plethora of good jobs. When lying—or overpromising—carries with it no in-built penalties to check it, it is scarcely seen as lying any more.

So the accusation of lying has been devalued. Ken Auletta, writing in *The New Yorker*, points out how our nostalgia for the 1950s' "age of innocence," in which Robert Redford's film *Quiz Show* is set, reveals the extent to which we have come to "expect, and tolerate, cheating" by television. Likewise, John Leo writes: "What really makes the pe-

riod seem distant isn't innocence, but the moral outrage that all this lying provoked. Charles Van Doren may not have been our most egregious public sinner, but he was certainly the last one to lead a long life of shame and ignominy for what he did."

As one of the last living Americans to have accepted disgrace as disgrace and not as a provocation to some sophisticated and cynical self-justification of the sort that we are very likely to hear on *Geraldo* or, increasingly, in our courts of law, Van Doren ought to be considered a kind of hero. Without his sense of shame, we as a culture no longer have the corresponding sense of honor that alone can make rational and comprehensible our obligations to truth-telling in public life. Instead, when it comes to valuing the truth we have become either moral absolutists, condemning even the "spin" of the respectable political agent, or cynics who—no doubt concluding that they may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb—spin in genuinely dishonest ways. It is, to say the least, not a very satisfactory choice. □

DELECTATIONS

Dressing Up, Looking Down

TAKI

I RECENTLY attended a London party in honor of a political writer, for which the invitation stipulated black tie. Having put on my finest, I arrived at my host's rather grand house to be met by as many as twenty young men wearing sweaters and jeans. At the start, I felt embarrassed for the few among them I knew, but after a while it dawned on me: I was the one out of place. England, alas, has taken a page out of Hollywood and David Geffen. No one with serious political or artistic aspirations believes that wearing a necktie is the proper thing to do.

But before I go on, a word or two about slobbism. They say that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, but as in everything the "cultural elite" of the Left tells us, nothing could be further from the truth. The rich are getting poorer, as far as I'm concerned,

because they try to look so poor. Everywhere one looks, there are people with horrible haircuts who think wearing sweat suits is okay at whatever age and size they happen to be.

In America, slobbism has been elevated to the realm of political correctness. Film stars such as Daryl Hannah and Michelle Pfeiffer always look like the proverbial things the cat dragged in, while such male stars as Dustin Hoffman and Al Pacino have made of deliberate drabness a political statement. We may be multi-millionaires, with tens of cars in our garages, houses all over the globe, private planes and yachts, but we're one with the common man.

The rot really set in during the Sixties, that decade for which we are still paying a hell of a price. The "let it all hang out" ethos has stayed with these pushing-fifty slobs, and there's a lot more hanging out nowadays. Ironically, the people who regard themselves as a cut above—journalists, artists,

Taki Theodoracopulos is an NR contributor and the author of Nothing to Declare.

Can you get on the information highway with a local bus?

Computers—they're everywhere! In the news, in the office, in the home, maybe on your desk. And the arcane terms never stop coming at you, whether you use a computer or not.

Now there is a book that clearly explains hundreds of the most frequently used terms and gives you practical tips about computers. It also includes a section on buying computers so you can actually understand what those computer ads mean. This empowering book is:

Waterfields Guide to Computer Terms

To get your copy, send \$12.95 (U.S.) plus \$4.00 S&H by check or money order to Waterfields Press, Direct Order Dept., P.O. Box 2377, Ellicott City, MD 21041-2377. Maryland residents, please add 5% sales tax. MC/VISA orders call 1-800-318-9229, or fax your order to 1-410-997-6811.

Money back if you are not satisfied.

(ISBN: 1-886271-00-3)

Waterfields[™]
WP Press

Just the information you need.[™]

Adams' Amazing Discovery:

Baptists, Fundamentalists, and Orthodox Jews are right: The Bible is literal truth. The world was created, fossils and all, in 7 days.

HOW? He made it out of 3-D Fractals. In the beginning was the Word. 3-D Fractals are the visible echoes. They make all we see.

WHY? Catholics are right. We have free will. So, Creation had to be made in such a way that we couldn't tell if He made it.

CRATS! explains it. And tells us where the races come from. It introduces the Brain Rank Theory of Reality. See yourself as the CRATS see you, as a mid-level Field Beast (taxpayer) whose sole purpose is to be enslaved. CRATS!, the novel so novel it needs its own glossary.

If you think you're tired of excessive government, wait 'til you see what the Sons and Daughters of Shem, Ham, and Japeth do about it in

CRATS!

To order: 1-800-OLD-DRUM VISA/MC
Or send a check for \$9.95; Two copies, \$18.00
(includes postage & handling) to: Old Drum
Publishing, Box 401, Portersville, PA 16051.

film and television people—actually look down on those who dress to beautify. The War Hero in the White House is, of course, the best example. As a modern politician, he is so anxious to be personally loved by voters, he has forgotten what public life is all about. He has arrogantly adopted a private manner in public with little sense of the dignity of his office. If one loses all idea of the dignity of public life, one loses the idea of its point. Talking about one's underwear on television may be acceptable to Oprah Winfrey, but in reality it is a sickness of a people who have gorged on too many afternoon television programs.

Back in 1971, as slobbism was starting to go mainstream, I met the beautiful actress Jennifer O'Neill at a dinner. I wore an Anderson & Sheppard double-breasted blue suit, with black shoes and a white shirt. When I was introduced to her, I rose and shook hands. She looked startled, then began to laugh.

"Why so formal?" she asked.

"Because I'm not from Hollywood," I answered—although, mind you, I was not completely right. Gary Cooper, Clark Gable, Van Heflin, Fred Astaire were wonderful examples of pedigreed dressing, and I would have been proud to dress as they did.

Nowadays, male suits are regarded as a buttoned-up form of dressing. Those in "creative" professions wear anything but the traditional suit, preferring shapeless forms and baggy pants. The younger generation refers to those of us who dress properly as "Suits," meaning repressive and boring. For my part, I find their contrived dishevelment stultifying, extremely conforming, and utterly predictable.

A beautifully cut traditional suit is a symbol of respect for one's self, also of power and good taste. There is nothing that gives me more pleasure than going into my closet and picking out a fine, light linen suit during the summer, or a light striped flannel in winter. The double-breasted suits I prefer are shapely, shadowing the torso. I dress for status rather than function, and the added pleasure comes when I go into one of those nightclubs full of people dressed in "grunge," or whatever the expensive rags they wear today are called. That is the only time my age and weight do not stand out among the young and the thin. In fact, that's the only time I feel superior. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Long Walk to Freedom, by Nelson Mandela (Little, Brown, 556 pp., \$24.95)

THIS autobiography may not "electrify the world," as its publisher promises, but it should startle readers who expected to find Nelson Mandela's leftist credo transmogrified by recent experience. The world's premier freedom fighter still sees in Marxism "the simplicity and generosity of the golden rule," buttressed by "the scientific underpinnings of dialectical materialism," and acclaims it as "offering both a searchlight illuminating the dark night of racial oppression and a tool that could be used to end it." Revealed here is a politician still open to the possibility that democracy might "be best expressed by a one-party system" and an Afrocentrist who thinks that Cleopatra was black. In other areas, however, Mr. Mandela writes disingenuously, and he is especially reticent about revealing his persistent and rabid loathing of the West: e.g., in the first major address of his career he depicted America and the West as being governed by "tiny ruling circles" of "crazy men" intent on employing "instruments of mass destruction" in "a desperate and last-minute fight to preserve a decadent and bankrupt civilization," which had reached "the final stage of monopoly capitalism gone mad, namely, fascism." Mr. Mandela neglects to mention this and similar tirades. Instead he offers platitudes about having always admired the democratic institutions of Britain and the United States, which is the sort of thing he used to reserve for the Rivonia trial courtroom and other politically unreliable audiences.

—DAVID ROBERTS JR.

The Glory, by Herman Wouk (Little, Brown, 685 pp., \$24.95)

MR. WOUK'S 11th novel recalls the decisive, miraculous 1973 Yom Kippur War. Though underappreciated by literary types, Herman Wouk is one of our outstanding historical novelists, and *The Glory*, characteristically, is not merely dramatic military and diplomatic history; it is also about the people who made the miracle possible (and about some in Washington who sought to

prevent it). But of military drama, there is plenty: Mr. Wouk achieves a masterly reconstruction of the magnitude and confusion of the final battle of the war, which almost ended Israel. A Mossad raid on Beirut hideouts to retaliate against the PLO terrorists who killed the Olympic athletes in Munich in 1972 is one of several powerful episodes testifying to Israel's unique intelligence achievements. There is also an underlying theme about the Holocaust, a theme not apparent in earlier Wouk war novels. As one of the major characters, General Barak, muses: "We Jews are unique in history, that's plain. We lasted thirty centuries and more. Unless we're God's people, how come? But if we're God's people, why have we gone through such a thirty-century wringer of calamities? Have we really been all that sinful?" A good question. —ARNOLD BEICHMAN

Reclaiming Morality in America, by William Murchison (Thomas Nelson, 190 pp., \$16.99)

THE TITLE of this book is enough to make one fling it across the room. We've heard it all before. Indeed, the market is flooded with books by heavily credentialed authors diagnosing the disease of social decay, and sometimes even prescribing remedies. But their ubiquity makes them easy to ignore. Unfortunately, this includes the good ones that describe our predicament plainly and wisely. *Reclaiming Morality in America* is such a book. Mr. Murchison, a journalist, first delineates the major problems in chapters including "Pizza—and Death" and "Free Sex and Other Delusions." Then he ruminates on potential solutions. The brevity of this book is a great virtue; the author does not waste our time. We already know that our culture is in dire need of resuscitation. Mr. Murchison's strength as a diagnostician lies in his fresh view of the dreadfully familiar. And he focuses on causes, not just symptoms. This book touches the foundations. "Morality was never an end in itself," he writes. "Moral behavior was behavior agreeable with the nature of the created being, and therefore highly advisable, as against behavior that depleted one's humanity." His solution is simple, though not simply achieved: create a thriving counterculture.

—TRACY LEE SIMMONS

SPECIAL OFFER FOR NATIONAL REVIEW SUBSCRIBERS

IT'S MORNING IN AMERICA AGAIN!

Announcing the limited, Premier Edition
of *Remembering Reagan*

Between the covers of this beautiful, new book, *Remembering Reagan*, you will relive the highlights of the remarkable Reagan Years and share in all the drama, excitement, joy, and sorrow they encompassed. Strictly limited to a printing of only 2,500, this hand-signed and numbered *Premier Edition* is sure to sell out quickly.

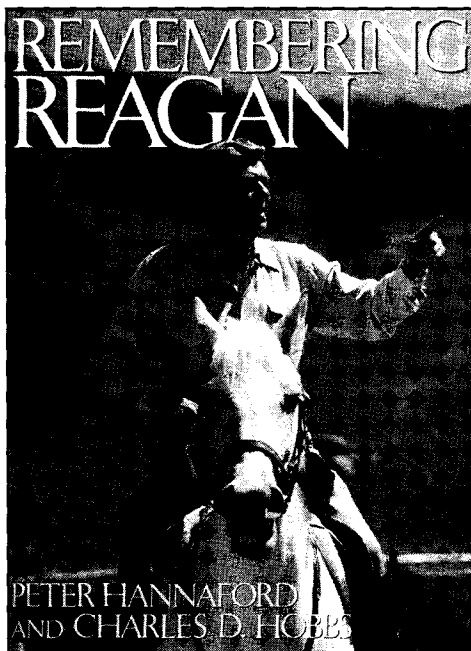
The authors, Peter Hannaford and Charles D. Hobbs, both members of Reagan's inner-circle, have painstakingly selected only the best photos—from the more than one million taken by White House photographers—to create an intimate pictorial history of the Reagan presidency.

You'll fondly recall, for example, the elegant Inaugurals, the

emotion-laden ceremonies at Normandy, the heart-warming rededication of the Statue of Liberty, and much more. You'll also be deeply moved by the behind-the-scenes glimpses of the public and the private life of our beloved 40th President.

Only 2,500 copies of the limited, *Premier Edition* will ever be printed. They are not available in bookstores.

So act now. Don't miss the opportunity to acquire this signed, limited copy of *Remembering Reagan*. Attractively priced at only \$100, this fine collectible is a perfect gift for those who wish to remember Ronald Reagan and the glory of his revolution. Order yours today.



DESTINED TO BECOME A TREASURED COLLECTIBLE

- ✓ Hand numbered and individually signed by its authors
- ✓ Not available in book stores
- ✓ Limited edition of 2,500 copies
- ✓ Includes a Certificate of Authenticity signed by the publisher
- ✓ Contains more than 220 four-color photos
- ✓ Printed on the highest-quality, acid-free paper
- ✓ Oversized, 9 x 12 inches and 160 pages

They say a picture is worth a thousand words; but seeing these photographs of our White House years in one volume has left me thoroughly speechless. They've captured priceless moments which bring back so many wonderful memories.

— R O N A L D R E A G A N

YES! Please rush me _____ copies of *Remembering Reagan*.
I have enclosed \$100 per book (plus \$4 shipping/order).
NY residents add appropriate sales tax.

- ☐ Check or money order payable to *National Review* enclosed,
Or
☐ Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ MC

 **REGNERY
PUBLISHING, INC.**
An Eagle Publishing Company

12395

**30-DAY, 100% MONEY-
BACK GUARANTEE.**

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____

Credit Card # _____

Expiration Date _____

National Review • 150 East 35th Street • New York, NY 10016

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Real Estate

FOR LEASE: 7½ acres in Las Vegas, Nevada, amid new development at mountain base overlooking Strip from 5-mile distance. Commercial and residential zoning. FAX 702-734-1593.

FOR LEASE: CONTIGUOUS lots near downtown Oklahoma City and capitol building, available for commercial or residential use; 25 acres level farmland in Amarillo, Texas, not limited to agriculture. NR Box 2261.

COLORADO MINI-RANCH. Nestled at foot of Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Exceptional home with exceptional views. 2 barns, caretaker, & guest quarters, Lutton Creek runs through it. 40 acres \$295,000. Call Ed at LPI 800-495-2526.

Hotels

NEW YORK CITY THE BEDFORD HOTEL

118 East 40th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10016
(Between Park and Lexington Aves.)
Here is the "great small hotel" you look for in a big city . . . beautifully decorated rooms and suites and friendly attentive service combine to offer you total comfort at an ideal mid-Manhattan location. Fully equipped kitchenettes are available.

**Ask About Discount Rates
For National Review Readers**

Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)
FAX (212) 697-1093
Restaurant—Cocktail Lounge

Vacation Rentals

BEAUTIFULLY RESTORED COLONIAL INN located on easily accessible Loyalist Island of Green Turtle Cay, Bahamas. Has attracted celebrity guests of every description including a former U.S. President (Republican, of course), but mostly caters to nice ordinary folks. 60% repeat clientele. \$60 double-occupancy. Includes English breakfast, delightful dinner. Information: Melissa Halsted, 2 Mission Hills W., Annandale, N.J. 08801. 908-735-4140. Direct: 809-365-4138.

MAUI—IDYLIC OCEANFRONT condo. One-bedroom, fully furnished. \$490 weekly. 818-796-3451.

LONDON APARTMENTS. 6 Private Central London flats. 2 Flats with Maids/Butler. From \$650 per week. Thomas Moore, Owner: 801-393-9120. Fax: 801-393-3024. Specializing in Holiday and Business Travel.

Educational Opportunities

FREE COLLEGE MONEY. Millions available. Scholarships, grants, awards. Call 800-700-4150.

Perspectiva
You can learn more **Spanish** reading the news

- ◆ World news monthly
- ◆ Intermediate Spanish
- ◆ Bilingual glossary
- ◆ \$25 annual subscription
- ◆ German Quarterly: \$18/year

EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
Box 60478-NR, FLORENCE, MA 01060
FREE BROCHURE 1-800-600-4494

* Languages *

Over 100 different foreign and Native American self study languages for adults and children, cassettes, CD's, videos, computer programs, translators.

Audio Language Institute FREE COLOR CATALOG
1202 Lexington DEPT 272-N1
New York, New York 10128 **800.722.6394 x61**

UNIVERSITY DEGREES without classes! Accredited bachelor's, master's, doctorates. Free revealing facts. Thorson-NR, P. O. Box 470886, Tulsa, Okla. 74147.

BE A PARALEGAL!

Attorney-instructed home study. Prepare now for one of America's fastest growing careers. Free literature: 800-223-4542.

Name _____ Age _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
School of Paralegal Studies, Dept. LLA173
PCDI, 6065 Roswell Rd., Atlanta, Georgia 30328



Travel

FREIGHTER CRUISES—worldwide, deluxe, inexpensive. TravLtips, Box 580218-A7, Flushing, N.Y. 11358. (800) 872-8584.

Literary

BOOKS ON DISK! Great gifts! Free sample: Phone/fax 318-283-1994.

SLICK WILLIE WIRE—Newsletter featuring Clinton clinkers, critiques, and crossfire. 800-45-SLICK.

OUT-OF-PRINT books located. Whitted, P.O. Box 603-R, Fairmont, N.C. 28340.

SURVIVING the FEMINIZATION of AMERICA by RICH ZUBATY

The book that pulls the pants off Feminism—in public—and unshames men. Disarm lesbian, anti-male propaganda! America needs healthy, responsible, unshamed men. **To order call:**
1-800-959-0061 (extension PANTHER)

PARADISE LOST, THE NOVEL. New, simplified version of world's greatest story. Beautifully illustrated. \$27.95 postpaid. (800) 879-4214.

POLITICAL, MILITARY, NOTABLE MEMORABILIA, and autographs. Send for list. G. Smith, P.O. Box 30191, Phoenix, Ariz. 85028.

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED. Subsidy publisher with 70-year tradition. Call 800-695-9599.



Raising A Teen? Then You Need This Book

New 170-page Guide covers it all!
• Alc. & Drug Parties • Sex • Laws
• Rock & TV • Eating Disorders
• Trouble Signs • Hotlines Helplines

Send \$11.90: **Parents Pipeline**, POB 11037
Greenwich, CT 06831 (CT Res. \$12.50)

- QUALITY 2 COLOR DAY-GLO VINYL BUMPER STATEMENTS - ©

Newt 'em Till they Glow!

Ride Tall, Shoot Straight,
Speak the Truth
Vote Republican!

**Nya Nya Nya
Nya Nya, Nya !!!
~ RUSH REPUBLICAN ~**

Any 3 Free with \$20 subscription to: **Citizens Write Quarterly** ©
~ a Journal of American Thought, Wit and Style ~
or send \$4 each, 3 for \$10 to: **Citizens Write**, PO Box 16, Canaan, NH 03741

> LIMITED SUPPLY - ORDER TODAY FOR QUICK DELIVERY <

Religion

LOOKING FOR A CHURCH that still teaches traditional values? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616.

Business Opportunities

GET PAID for reading books! \$100 per book. Send name, address to: Calco Publishing (Dept. C-713), 500 South Broad, Meriden, Conn. 06450.

\$800 WEEKLY! Help promote term limits for Congress. Distribute our literature, 5-10 hours/week. Free info. 1-800-505-4340 (24 hrs.).

Financial

1-800-BEAT-IRS. Free brochures. Experienced tax attorney, author. The MacPherson Group, Phoenix.

HOW TO BUILD PROFITABLE STOCK PORTFOLIO without paying broker fees. Secret for small investors. \$25.00, Lakehaven Press-R, P.O. Box 137133, Ft. Worth, Tex. 76136.

LET THE GOVERNMENT finance your small business. Grants/loans to \$500,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-0270. (KH7).

UP 21% THROUGH OCTOBER, this fund timer invites additional \$5 million for fee basis management. Accounts from \$25M. SEC reg. Credentialed. Cantwell, P. O. Box 10370, Naples, Fla. 33941.

Personal

ATTRACTIVE, PETITE BLOND widow, sixties, interested in meeting Christian gentleman. NR BOX 2263.

RETIRED PROFESSIONAL, PHYSICALLY active and financially independent, seeks attractive lady 38-58 years old, for travel, adventure, and romance. My ideal lady would be enthusiastic, personable and share my conservative views and Christian values. Photo please. NR Box 2265.

PROFESSIONAL, JEWISH WIDOWER, Westchester, politically incorrect, seeks unappreciated (?) literature/poetic lady. NR Box 2270.

RETIRED, 64, 6', 180 MISPLACED POUNDS, with sense of humor, seeks gal with likewise, photo please. NR Box 2271.

ORANGE COUNTY CA Conservative Christian single mom, 40, seeks godly family man to re-establish Christian home. NR Box 2272.

NO MATALIN-CARVILLE RELATIONSHIP for me! Slender, beautiful art teacher, youthful 40, unencumbered, seeks handsome, Catholic, Republican soulmate armed with great sense of humor. N.Y.C./Asheville, N.C. NR Box 2273.

Business/Personal Service

1-800-1m MAD. We will compose, edit, mail your complaints/problems to politicians. Copy to you. \$9.95. MC/Visa.

Clinical Services

SPASMODIC TORTICOLLIS RECOVERY CLINIC. 2528 Camino Estribo, Santa Fe, N.M. 87505.

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers



HUGE SALE ON T-SHIRTS

any **3 T's** only **\$19.95**
(plus \$7 P & H)
(XXL + \$1ea; XXXL + \$3ea)

You've seen our ads in every issue of
NATIONAL REVIEW

ORDER BY MAIL OR CALL:
1-800-422-6067

FREE CATALOG 610-776-5033 **Blue Mountain Graphics**
125 Liberty St., Allentown, PA 18102

*** MORE excellence in bumper stickers! ***

ABSTINENCE WORKS EVERY TIME IT'S TRIED	"virginity" IS NOT A DIRTY WORD	I LOVE ANIMALS...they taste great!
FRIENDS DON'T LET FRIENDS VOTE DEMOCRATIC!	CLINTON/GORE GONE IN FOUR!	IS YOUR CHURCH ATF APPROVED?
If guns are outlawed, only outlaws and tyrants will have guns	DON'T BLAME ME I VOTED FOR BUSH	There's no such thing as a "New Democrat"

Vinyl - \$2 ea, \$8/5, \$12/10 (csh, chk, or m.o.) to: JBCC, P.O. Box 365, Bloomsburg, PA 17815

TEXAS, FLORIDA: "I VOTED FOR HIS DADDY TOO!" Bumper stickers, \$3/ea, 2/\$5, 10/\$15: JCM, Box 686, Sanderson, Tex. 79848.

Tell it like it is with this yellow on black vinyl bumpersticker

CRIMINALS SUCK

\$3/1
\$2/2+

Send check or money order + SASE to:
Rock Solid Designs, PO Box 15178, Keumore Station
Boston, MA 02215

"TAKE BACK AMERICA!"—"NIX CLINTON IN '96" Get T-shirt and bumper sticker set now. Show America how you really feel. Send \$19.50 to Jeff, Box 3206, Chatsworth, Calif. 91311. M, L, XL.

"HAPPY NEW YEAR!"®: Bumper stickers, \$3 ea., 5/\$12. The Holt Co., 1800 NW 167th Pl., Suite 110, Beaverton, Ore. 97006.

"DOWNSIZE GOVERNEMENT EVERYWHERE. CUT SPENDING ACROSS THE BOARD"; "STOP OVERGOVERNING". Free bumper stickers. Dave Polewka, P.O. Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

HEY DITTOHEAD!
\$3. ea. \$1.50 ea. add.

THE GREAT HOUSE CLEANING OF '94 RUSH CHANGED THE DECOR IN '94	LET'S RUSH INTO '96 BEST WISHES TO THE GREAT ONE! PRESIDENT REAGAN
---	--

Send cash, check or M.O. to Tim Scoullar
366 N. Allen Ave. P.O. Box 153 Pasadena, CA 91106

For Sale



NOW, THE PERFECT "LAFF TONIC"! **WHITEWATER THE COLOGNE**

GREAT GIFT IDEA! FOR LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES ALIKE. THE SECRET? IT STINKS-but you'll love reading the "instruction booklet!"

Send TO: WHITEWATER COLOGNE
\$10.00 BOTTLE
2.95 S&H
\$12.95 TOTAL
Add 7 bottles-free S&H

BOX #71
MIAMI, FL 33116
FAX: (305) 447-9277

LEATHER CHECKBOOK COVERS. Replace that cheap plastic checkbook cover with our beautiful, full-grain Italian Leather Checkbook Cover! Hand made in USA. Wallet style. Black, Dark Brown, or Cognac. \$30.00+\$4.00 S&H. Visa/MasterCard. 1-800-365-6171. Immediate shipment. Return if unsatisfied.

TALK RADIO FANS!

Never Miss Your Favorite Talk Radio Shows & Personalities Again

Our quality long-play audio voice recorders record continuously for up to 4 hours on each side of ordinary cassette tapes!

Deluxe desk model with AM/FM Stereo Radio, a 4-hour Long-Play Recorder & Twin Digital Timers Combined! \$179.99

Basic models available from \$89.99. Please call for details or information by mail.

1-800-872-3578

Recordex 8925 Terrace Plaza - Suite A5 Tampa, FL 33617

CASSETTES: Cheek-to-cheek dance music, jazz, big/small bands, broadcasts. (914) 693-2841, 2-7 P.M.

MEN'S WIDE SHOES

EEE-EEEEEE, SIZES 5-13

Extra width for men who need it. Excellent variety, styling and quality. Send for **FREE CATALOG**.



Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

HITCHCOCK SHOES, INC.
Dept. 12 A Hingham, MA 02043
Telephone (617) 749-3260

MEDIA MAYHEM™ Trivia Game empowers players to trash the liberal media, piece by illicit piece. Send \$12.95 to Media Mayhem, P.O. Box 8461, Jacksonville, Fla. 32239.

Organizations

FIGHT GOVERNMENT WASTE. Free newsletter and membership. Taxpayers Against Government Waste. 800-454-0344.

Situations Wanted

51-YEAR-OLD FINANCIALLY SUCCESSFUL Physician with 80 employees and some business acumen. Is literate, well read, and personable. Has tired of medicine as it is now practiced. Wishes a new career. Would consider any challenging and intellectually stimulating position if it is legal and ethical. Financial remuneration important, but not paramount. NR Box 2274.

Friendship, Etc.

MAKE NEW FRIENDS OVERSEAS. International PenPal Kit™. Free brochure. 1-800-PENPAL-U.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS'S EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, a national service, has been getting unattached people together since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039, or call 610-358-5049.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

PROFESSIONAL FILIPINO WOMEN seeking male friends. Call Global Introductions: 813-576-2629.

MEET BEAUTIFUL LADIES worldwide. 800+ marriages since 1989. Free 150 photo brochure. 702-451-3070 anytime.

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE. Free 32-page photo catalogue! Correspondence service since 1974. Cherry Blossoms, 190NR Rainbow Ridge, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 408-980-7488.

RUSSIA, SCANDINAVIA, BRITAIN, France, U.S.A., etc.: Professional men, women worldwide seek friendship, marriage. Scanna International (est. 1980), P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 800-677-3170.

SINGLE WOMEN'S NETWORK, a national group for networking, travel, and support. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5520.

DATE SOMEONE IN YOUR LEAGUE: Graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, M.I.T., Stanford, U. of Chicago, Cal Tech, Duke, Northwestern, meet fellow alumni and academics. The Right Stuff. 800-988-5288.

BEAUTIFUL BRITISH LADIES & ELIGIBLE BRITISH GENTLEMEN seek friendship, romance & marriage with Americans! All ages! Free details: English Rose Introduction Agency (Dept. NR), 24 Cecil Square, Margate, Kent CT9 1BA, England. Tel/Fax: 01144-1843-290735.

THAI, ASIAN, WORLDWIDE, LADIES desire correspondence, lifemates. TAWL, P. O. Box 937-NR, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-0937. 808-329-5559.

RUSSIAN LADIES, truly beautiful, educated, seek companionship. Free color photo brochure! Russia 206, P. O. Box 888851, Atlanta, Ga. 30356. 404-458-0909.

TRADITIONAL OVERSEAS WOMEN seeking correspondence, marriage. Dignified presentations since 1984. Asian Experience, P. O. Box 1214NV, Novato, Calif. 94947. 415-897-2742.

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

Situations Available

EDITOR. The Christian Coalition, one of the nation's most respected grassroots citizen action organizations, is seeking an Editor for its monthly publication, the *Christian American*. With a monthly circulation of over 400,000, it is America's fastest growing Christian public policy publication. The publication has already had a huge impact on the public policy debate in America by disseminating hard-hitting, "family friendly" political news, events and information. The successful candidate will plan, direct and coordinate the editorial activities of the publication. The candidate must have excellent writing and editing skills with ability to manage a news and editorial staff. Candidate must also be growth oriented with an energy and ability to expand circulation. Experience in developing advertising revenue is preferable. If you are interested in leading one of America's most respected grassroots publications, please send or fax résumé and cover letter to Meridian Consulting Group, Three Riverway, Suite 1030, Houston, Texas 77056. Fax to (713) 840-7953.

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" (\$1.50)
"Health Care: Second Opinions" (\$2)
"The Real Reagan Record" (\$2.95)
"Clintonomics: Apocalypse Now" (\$2.95)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping & handling)
Bulk prices available for all upon request.

Send to: NATIONAL REVIEW,
150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: \$4.00 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Frequency Discounts: 4 times, \$3.75 per word; 6 times, \$3.50 per word; 8 or more times, \$3.25 per word.

NR Box Numbers: \$10 additional (one-time only charge). Responses forwarded by 1st-class mail. Send to: NR Box _____, c/o Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Display Ads: Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, \$200 per column inch; 4 times, \$185 per column inch; 8 times, \$170 per column inch; 10 or more times, \$150 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to NATIONAL REVIEW), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340.

Restrictions: The primary function of the Classified section is to facilitate one of the essential mechanisms of the free marketplace by bringing together willing buyers and willing sellers. However, NR may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. Such rejections are almost always based on our interpretation of common decency and good taste. Partisan political viewpoints expressed in connection with specific goods or services are the sole responsibility of the advertiser, and are not necessarily a reflection of NR's editorial position.

EVANS

(Continued from page 60)

In matters of religion, I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the Constitution independent of the powers of the general government. I have therefore undertaken on no occasion to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it. But I have left them as the Constitution found them, under the direction or discipline of state or church authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.

Jefferson made the same point a few years later to a Presbyterian clergyman, who inquired about his attitude toward Thanksgiving proclamations:

I consider the government of the United States as interdicted from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or exercises. This results from the provision that no law shall be made respecting the establishment of religion or the free exercise thereof, but also from that which reserves to the states the powers not delegated to the United States. Certainly no power over religious discipline has been delegated to the general government. It must thus rest with the states as far as it can be in any human authority.

The irresistible conclusion is that there was no wall of separation between religious affirmation and civil government in the several states, nor

could the First Amendment, with or without the Fourteenth Amendment, have been intended to create one. The wall of separation, instead, was between the Federal Government and the states, meant to make sure the central authority didn't meddle with the customs of local jurisdictions.

As a matter of constitutional law, the Court's position in these religion cases is an intellectual shambles—results-oriented jurisprudence at its most flagrant. An even greater scandal is the extent to which the Justices have rewritten the official record to support a preconceived conclusion: a performance worthy of regimes in which history is tailored to the interests of the ruling powers. In point of fact, America's constitutional settlement—up to and including the First Amendment—was the work of people who believed in God, and who expressed their faith as a matter of course in public prayer and other governmental practice. □

DOHERTY

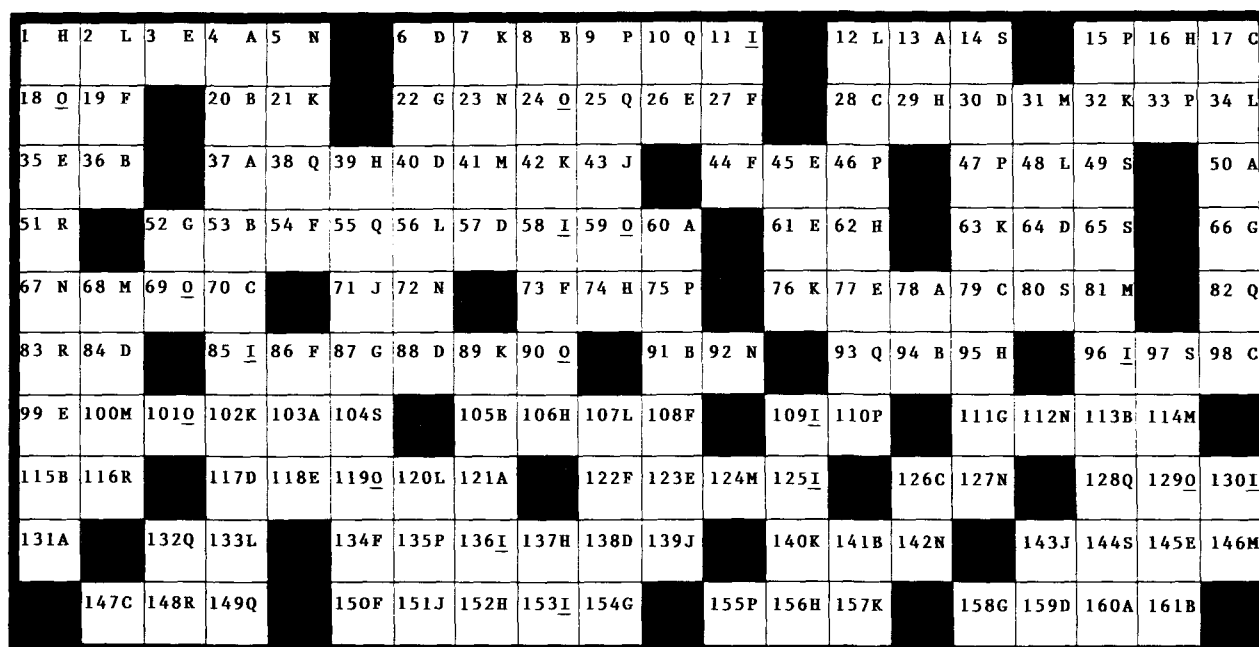
(Continued from page 28)

Mr. Ganish deviated from the approved plans, thereby voiding the original permit. As for the charge that the city ignored certain problems for years, only to declare them criminal after the raid, Mr. Munoz says: "We were too busy before . . . and the complaints had died down a little after the outside was substantially completed in 1988. But we were fed up because they kept saying that they were going to finish it and never did."

To John Barthrop, one of the Ganishes' many lawyers in their long fight (Munoz notes that most of the lawyers end up quitting or being fired by the contentious Ganishes), Haym Ganish represents "the old pioneer spirit. He says I'm going to build this house for my family so they'll never be on the street." To Mr. Munoz, the City Council's decision in July to declare the house a public nuisance and set a 120-day schedule for its completion (since extended to a year from November 9) was the logical consequence of Mr. Ganish's scofflaw behavior.

For now, Kron Castle stands, a survivor of Irvine's assaults. Come November, if the city isn't happy with the house, it will be demolished. □

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| A. Sentry's post | 13 103 131 37 60 50 78 160 4 121 | J. Demonstrated | 139 151 71 143 43 |
| B. Graduation ceremony openings, once | 20 161 113 91 105 8 36 94 141 115 | K. Errorless state | 76 7 89 140 157 102 63 32 42 21 |
| | 53 | L. Hot-coals-walker's concern (2 words) | 56 120 107 48 2 133 34 12 |
| C. Portable PCs | 98 17 79 147 126 28 70 | M. Diplomatic agreements | 114 146 41 124 68 100 81 31 |
| D. Dined at noon | 57 88 40 117 64 84 159 6 30 138 | N. The vulgar mob | 142 67 127 92 5 112 72 23 |
| E. Unmindful of sensibilities | 99 35 123 145 118 61 26 45 3 77 | O. Worked the same waters again | 18 90 24 101 59 129 119 69 |
| F. Artistic taste | 86 108 134 54 44 27 73 122 150 19 | P. Nostalgia buff's time | 15 110 46 135 75 9 33 155 47 |
| G. Means | 66 52 87 111 22 158 154 | Q. Britain's "Foggy Bottom" | 128 93 25 82 149 132 55 10 38 |
| H. Scheduled regardless of weather (3 words) | 29 1 39 137 106 156 95 74 152 62 | R. Seasonal greeting (2 words) | 148 116 83 51 |
| | 16 | S. Shakespeare tragedy | 97 49 144 65 80 104 14 |
| I. Noted Roman highway (2 words) | 125 153 96 58 136 85 109 130 11 | | |

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. [PAUL] GREENBERG: *Senate Race*: "If these two were the best candidates that Virginia, home of Robert E. Lee, could produce . . . then that fact is alone enough to refute the popular theory that man is evolving into some higher creature."

I'm the Greatest?

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 27

Admirers of Newt Gingrich will have to concede that the timing of his book contract wasn't good. What was missing was, so to speak, the subjunctive mood. Released when it was, the contract gave off an air of what-we-have-accomplished. As if Churchill's war memoirs had been signed up at Dunkirk.

Concerning the whole business, a few observations:

1. Congress has made life difficult for itself by imposing restrictions on what congressmen can do. Retired Congressman Barber Conable opined some years ago that the most mischievous "reform" ever enacted by Congress was the prohibition against a continued pursuit of a legislator's profession. "What it means, when in order to serve in Congress you have to give up the law, medicine, the academic, whatever, is that you end up needing to stay in Congress because you can't make a living doing anything else."

The regulation denying to congressmen the right to keep their shingles hanging was followed by a prohibition against charging to give a speech or to write an article. The single line of activity left unproscribed is the book. Senator Moynihan gritted his teeth at having to give up income from public speaking (he had children in college, and no savings) and publicly acclaimed his colleagues' mercy to book-writers. Mr. Moynihan is the kind of person who would write a book every year or so quite irrespective of whether one or a million people were lined up to read it. It turned out that Van Gogh's paintings would be stared at by half the world, but when he painted them he was pleasing only himself, there being nobody around who cared to buy them. Moynihan suffers from what the Romans called *cacoethes scribendi*, the compulsion to write. Newt Gingrich, PhD, is eminently equipped to write books, and it is nowhere being whispered that he is simply hawking his name, and will turn now to a ghost-writer to produce the manuscript. On the professional point he is untouchable.

2. What inflamed was the figure of \$4 million. People tend to think of a figure that high as Schwarzkopf-sized money, more appropriately paid to someone who has won a war or executed a presidential term. But Mr. Gingrich is implicitly saying that he *has* won a war, never mind that he has not yet been sworn in as leader of the House of Representatives. The war he has won, and is now opportunizing on, is the ratification by the voters in a general election of a genuine change in the political scene. The question left unanswered is whether that prospective change will be realized. Here we pit Gingrich's optimism against natural inertia, the kind of thing that Ronald Reagan ran into when he tried for organic changes in government and the bureaucracy, and had to settle for half measures. Gingrich is saying, in effect: The revolution was.

It would have been engaging if the publisher and Mr. Gingrich had signed a contract pegged to performance. If by December 1996 the budget deficit is reduced by 5 per cent, add \$50,000 to the guarantee. If GNP is up 1 per cent, add \$50,000. For every 1 per cent reduction in public-sector spending, add \$250,000. If unemployment is up 1 per cent, deduct \$100,000. If prayer is permitted in the schools, add \$150,000. Such a contract would have been more sporting.

3. But it is important, in assessing Mr. Gingrich, to ponder his character. He is confident that the Senate and the House are mobilized to make heavy and productive changes that will militate to the improvement of life in America. He no more weighs the possibility of failure than Churchill did after Dunkirk. There are



"The dervish is sick—go get a spin doctor."

those who see in that confidence a kind of swagger. Those of us who are more tentative about such big matters as the future of America are easily dismayed, and are almost superstitiously influenced by the fear of buying long on good fortune.

But on the other hand we remember Muhammad Ali, who announced to the world that he was The Greatest. He met with some scorn, but as he started winning bout after bout, his self-confidence became a kind of amulet as he rocked his way to the championship.

Well, that is the way Newt's publishers, and his well-wishers, hope it will go, and the way Newt *knows* it will go. □

Excelsior the Counterculture

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 13

The firing of Dr. Joycelyn Elders has not caused much squeaking, in part, one gathers, because she had begun to tire even the most permissive members of her constituency. She began her public ministry what seems a hundred years ago by persuasively wondering whether it made sense to continue to criminalize drugs. But one had the feeling, after the next volley from her, and the one after that, and the one after that, that she was capable of asking whether it made sense to criminalize rape. Finally President Clinton couldn't stand it any more, not because he wouldn't agree with her (who would not agree with her?) that masturbation is to be preferred to AIDS. It was the countercultural *basso sostenuto* coming from her office that did in the majority. It had after all been only a fortnight since Speaker-elect Newt Gingrich had hailed signs of a liberation from the "McGovern-nik" counterculture.

Last week, Jerry Rubin died. He was famous for his rowdy participation at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. He was a beau ideal of the countercultural movement, along with Abbie Hoffman and here and there a bomb thrower. Jerry Rubin outgrew the movement he had celebrated, ending his career on Wall Street, appearing here and there nicely jacketed with tie on.

But the movement with which he was associated lives on in the Woodstock of the mind, and most conspicuously shot off a Roman candle in a lead editorial in the *New York Times* on Sunday December 11. The editorial does not mention either Dr. Elders or Mr. Rubin, but it is dedicated to preserving the lib-

eration they struggled to give us. Indeed it is called, "In Praise of the Counterculture."

Now any movement can be plausibly praised if the celebrant is given the authority to describe it. There is absolutely nothing to criticize even in Nazism or Communism if you swing to the songs of their bards. But first, find your target. He is instantly made plain: Newt Gingrich. "In an excess of Republican triumphalism," we are told by the writer, "the party's new leaders have decided to make 'counterculture' into a pejorative." The next two words are high dudgeon for a family newspaper. Are you ready?

"What flapdoodle."

So then the editor tells us what is his/her understanding of the counterculture. Just to begin with, it was "an exercise in mass sanity in which a nation's previously voiceless citizens—its young—overturned a war policy that was, in fact, deranged."

One pauses to catch breath. Was the Vietnam War really "deranged"? We are talking about military action endorsed by John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon, in pursuit of the policy of containment backed by a bipartisan Congress beginning with NATO and the Marshall Plan. We did not win that war. But the ugly consequences of not winning it were absolutely plain, documented by *New York Times* journalists and photographers. The boat people fleeing Vietnam, two million dead in Cambodia, the tyrannization of Laos. That we did not win the war is not retroactively to validate those who protested against the effort's being made. No more was French military resistance to the Nazis in 1940 evidence of derangement. And it is strange to read that the young, up until the counterculture movement, were voiceless. Ten years before Woodstock, the conservative movement was launched by young men and women. Their efforts resulted in the election of November 8.

"Would many Americans truly like to imagine a society returned to the dictatorship of the majority culture?" What does that mean? That the majority culture deprived us of *Story of O* for all those years? "Would they like to go back to the days of blatant, sanctioned discrimination against African-Americans and women?" No, come to think of it. Is Gingrich suggesting that we do? "... to a world deprived of all the Sixties ingredients that still simmer in the cultural stew, including an American music that has become a global language?"

Well, on that one, herewith a quiet, Yes. We'd welcome it. The countercul-

tural music is the perfect accompaniment for the culture of sexual self-indulgence, of exhibitionism, of crime and illegitimacy and ethnic rancor and victimology. We have to hope that the *Times* editor will one day grow up, like Jerry Rubin. □

The Frazzled Women's Movement

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 16

The women's movement has problems, but women prominently identified with it are not easy to talk to about those problems. When extraordinary positions taken by their sisters are cited, the movement's seniors tend to dismiss them as anomalies. They will tell you that a cuckoo statement made by Gloria Steinem—for instance, that American women live in a patriarchy in which the most dangerous man in town isn't the marauder or rapist, but their husband or lover—no more condemns the movement than Jesse Helms's statement to the effect that President Clinton can't walk safely in North Carolina condemns the Republican movement. The technique is useful for on-the-spot handling of criticism, but it cannot allay the widely held conviction that the women's movement is progressively in the hands of fanatics.

One asks: What is left for the women's movement to accomplish? There is no limit arising out of her sex to what a person can achieve. But that is not a comprehensive answer because there are still traces of what one can, however reluctantly, call "male sexism." The woman who calls the car dealer, gives her selection, and hears the voice at the other end of the telephone say something on the order of, "Good, dearie. Now you get your husband to call and confirm that order." One suspects that kind of thing is happening less and less, but it is evidently still there, and the salesman isn't necessarily seventy years old, resonating patriarchal biases of yesteryear. Apparently he can be just a year or two out of college.

But though such prejudices die hard, why do women need an organized movement (which can't in any case contend with telephonic Jim Crow)? There are laws already on the books that empower such as the woman CIA operative who sued the agency charging sex discrimination and got a robust settlement. What else do they want?

The primary goal of organized women in America is of course to maintain and

broaden access to abortion. They want federally subsidized abortion, and opposition to the so-called constraints, e.g., parental notification for girls under 16. On this matter the women's movement is not in the least tolerant of other views. When Governor Casey of Pennsylvania asked to be heard at the Democratic Convention in New York in 1992 so that he could plead the case against making abortion the equivalent of asking for Pepsi Cola instead of Coca-Cola, he was denied a platform. But if the women's movement is going to amount to merely Pro Choice, it will not have the broad sympathy it enjoyed a generation ago when bias against women was institutionalized in the folkways of American education and commerce.

One more salient of the current women's movement has to do with full participation in military activity. A critic recently accosted a group of women's leaders and muttered that they would be jubilant on the day the Commandant of The Citadel declared a school holiday to celebrate her abortion. But by no means all women favor women-in-combat.

The other area in which the movement is active is women's studies, and here there is great vulnerability. Professors Daphne Patai and Noretta Koertge, in their book, *Professing Feminism*, give us a taste of the new feminine cosmology. "Feminism aspires to . . . be a totalizing scheme resting on a grand theory, one that is as all inclusive as Marxism, as assured of its ability to unmask hidden meanings as Freudian psychology, and as fervent in its condemnation of apostates as evangelical fundamentalism. Feminist theory provides a doctrine of original sin: the world's evils originate in male supremacy. . . . And it offers a prescription for radical change that is as simple as it is drastic: reject whatever is tainted with patriarchy and replace it with something embodying gynecentric values."

Betty Friedan, the author of *The Feminine Mystique*, published over thirty years ago, seeks to defend the women's movement by citing the problems she faced when she was a student. But that is on the order of circumnavigating the problem of race quotas in schools by citing Jim Crow. It is a new battlefield, the women who lead the current movement aren't the moderate old-timers, and although men reasonably figure in the responsibility to make this point, it is dissenting women on whom one needs to rely, even as it is in the hands of moderate blacks to disavow extremist black leadership. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

Intrigue for Wonks

FOR a long time now I've been chewing over the question of why Washington novels are so bad. And they are. With a few exceptions—*Democracy* by Henry Adams; maybe *Advise and Consent*; perhaps a few others I haven't read—serious novels set in Washington are dead on the page, peopled with stick figures, creaking along implausible plot lines until the reader collapses in boredom, wrung dry like the orgasmic heroine who is invariably and desperately thrust into the narrative. At least the heroine gets an orgasm for her trouble.

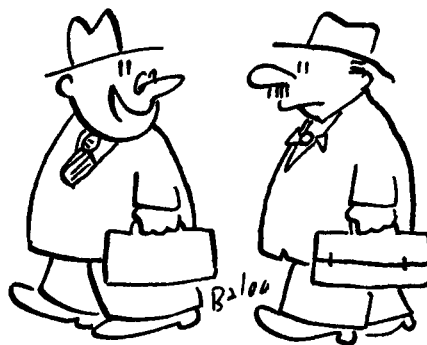
Readers of Washington novels end up with rather less, of course. I remember that Calvin Trillin, asked once to explain why English food was so terrible, replied, "It's cooked by the English." In accounting for the hundreds of poorly written Washington novels, the easiest explanation is: "They're written by journalists." And to paraphrase Karl Kraus, journalists will, given time, write worse. It's a truism that large numbers of reporters are frustrated novelists, having alighted on the trade as a kind of way station in their journey to becoming "real writers," by which they mean writers of thick and portentous works of fiction. The dream never dies, as the Kennedys like to say. And the yearning intensifies with every Ways and Means Committee hearing you have to cover or every GAO report you have to pretend to read.

This also points to the central problem of bad Washington novels—their implausibility. In the typical novel, Washington is an electrifying place, a city of dark and mysterious intrigues, home to oversexed cupcakes and Apollos of insatiable virility and masterful cunning. In reality it is home to Andrea Mitchell and Alan Greenspan, and, more telling, to people who tingle with excitement when Andrea Mitchell and Alan Greenspan walk into a room. Washington novels routinely offer up

scenes in which, say, the Vice President (a dead ringer for Mel Gibson) and the network news twinkie (a Sharon Stone lookalike) are dallying in a gilded Capitol hideaway, only to be interrupted by a young aide (the President's illegitimate son, sired with the Secretary of State's wife) who tells him the Joint Chiefs of Staff are being held hostage by IRA terrorists. And the plot advances.

Anyone who knows Washington, and even those who don't, immediately scoff at such tricks, and the novel is doomed. But what else is the Washington novelist to do? Imagine a more plausible plot turn, one truer to life as it is lived even at the upper reaches of power. The network news reporter, who looks like Carole Simpson, would be interviewing the Vice President, who looks like Walter Mondale, about the chances for genuine campaign-finance reform when the young aide (the son of a wealthy hubcap manufacturer in Minnesota) interrupts with the news that Young Turks on the Ways and Means committee are threatening to lengthen the depreciation schedule for plant and equipment in the boat-building industry by nine years, which throws off

Congress



"You know, we wouldn't need a pay hike if we got a commission on our appropriations."

baseline revenue projections for the next budget cycle by well over \$265 million, and the offsets they're floating to the media appear to be totally inadequate when measured within the 1990 budget caps!

Thus, day by day, does the real-life plot of Washington advance, and the irony is that while it's entirely plausible, nobody would believe it. Worse, nobody would believe that anyone could follow this real-life plot with sustainable, much less avid, interest. But Washingtonians do. They—we—are a breed apart, incomprehensible to those who have never given a thought to living here. I say this with no aggrandizement, but no disapprobation, either. Even the professional anti-Washington Washingtonians—the conservative Republicans who make a nice living trashing the city they secretly love—would find it difficult to live anywhere else. We may admire, in the abstract, the values of Main Street USA, but when it comes to working up a lively discussion of graduated trade subsidies for poultry producers—well, you just gotta be in Washington.

MY POINT here has some timely relevance. There has been much talk since the Republican Anschluss of dismantling large chunks of the federal government and, by implication, denuding Washington of the things that make it appealing to the people who live here. Don't you believe it. If, for example, welfare were "returned to the states," as some propose, the great welfare debates would perforce take place in the state capitals. I know several welfare experts in Washington, good federalists all. Not one of them would be caught dead in Bismarck or Springfield, Illinois. I'll wager that they thus become a subtle lobby for keeping welfare a federal responsibility, always (of course!) for the soundest reasons of policy. They will succeed. And so on down the list: transportation, housing, education, even the arts. A diaspora of Washington wonks is unthinkable, not when we can spend our days with the brethren in seminars and conferences at the Willard or AEI, palavering on topics of our greatest ardor, and return to our leafy suburbs by night, there to curl up with a good novel, perhaps, and dream of the secret life of Walter Mondale, of Andrea and Alan.

—ANDREW FERGUSON

Mr. Ferguson is a senior writer for The Washingtonian.

Now,
doesn't
you in



Milliken
introduces
the world's
first renewable
floorcovering.

Changing carpet in the business world can get expensive. Not just the cost of buying new carpet, but the skyrocketing cost of landfilling the old stuff.

What if you could renew what's already on the floor? And put an end to the waste cycle?

Milliken modular makes it possible.

It allows the carpet you install today to be restyled years from now with tomorrow's cutting-edge designs.

With Milliken's new Earthwise Ennovations™ process, your old Milliken modular carpet is cleaned, rejuvenated, restyled — and reinstalled as fresh, like-new carpet.

You conserve natural resources and reduce solid waste in landfills. You reduce landfill charges, too. And save big money by reconditioning your carpet at about half the cost of new.

Finally, being earthwise is financially smart, too.



Milliken Carpet

For a free video about Milliken's exclusive Earthwise Ennovations™ program,
call 1-800-241-4826, ext. 5108.





ABSOLUT BROOKLYN

ABSOLUT® VODKA. PRODUCT OF SWEDEN. 40 AND 50% ALC/VOL (80 AND 100 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN VODKA. BOTTLE DESIGN AND ABSOLUT CALLIGRAPHY ARE TRADEMARKS OWNED BY V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. ©1997 V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. IMPORTED BY THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM, NEW YORK, NY.